ISRAEL

Social & Religious Development

A.W.F. Blunt

THE WORLD'S MANUALS

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

B.C.				
2300 - 1700	Age of the patriarchs.		Hammurabi in Babylon 2100.	
1700 - 1200	Israel in Egypt.		Kings of Egypt: Thutmosis III 1501, Akhnaton 1375, Rameses II 1292, Merneptah 1225.	
1200 - 1000	The Judges. Saul 1037.			
10th. Century	David 1017 Solomon 977.		Damascus vassal of Israel, independent after 950.	Collection of National Songs; stories about Saul, David, Solomon. Books of Iddo, Gad, Shemaiah etc.
	Rehoboam 937 Asa 917	Jeroboam 937		
9th. Century	Jehoshaphat 876 Athaliah 843	Omri 889 Ahab 877 Jehu 842	Damascus harasses Israel; Assyria repeatedly attacks Damascus.	Elijah and Elisha. Compilation of J.
8th. Century	Uzziah 785 Ahaz 735 Hezekiah 715	Jeroboam II 781. End of Northern Kingdom 722.	Assyria presses on Syria and Israel. Fall of Damascus 732. Fall of Samaria 722.	Compilation of E. JE combined. Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah.
7th. Century	Manasseh 686 Josiah 639 End of Southern Kingdom 587		Sennacherib 705 Fall of Nineveh 612 Nebuchadnezzar 604 Fall of Jerusalem 587	Deuteronomy written; published 621. Jeremiah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk (?) Judges, Samuel, Kings compiled.

587 - 538	[illegible]	[illegible]	Compilation of P begins.
536 - 320	Jews under Persia. Temple rebuilt 516. Ezra 458, Nehemiah 445. Samaritan schism 430.	Persia conquers Egypt 529. Darius 521, Xerxes 485. Decline of Persian Empire. Marathon 490, Salamis 480. Alexander destroys Persian Empire 334 - 324.	The Hexateuch compiled; published 432. Haggai, Zechariah 1-8, Isaiah 56-66, Malachi, Job, Ruth.
320 - 198	Jews under Egypt.	Antiochus III of Syria overruns Palestine 218, takes it 198.	Joel, Isaiah 24-27, Jonah, Zechariah 9-14, Ecclesiastes. LXX translation of Pentateuch. Roll of prophets closed by 200
198 - 140	Jews under Syria. Persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes 170. Simon High Priest 142.	Advance of Rome into Asia Minor. Weakening of the Seleucid Empire.	Proverbs compiled. Ecclesiasticus, Daniel. Psalter compiled. Parts of Enoch. Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah compiled. Wisdom, I Maccabees. Roll of Writings decided A.D. 90.
140 - 63	Jews independent.	Syria a Roman province 64.	
63 on	Jews under Rome. Antipater governor of Judah 63. Herod and Phasael tetrarchs of Judaea 41. Herod King of Judaea 37.	Pompey takes Jerusalem 63. Murder of Caesar 44. B. of Philippi 41, of Actium 31. Augustus supreme 27.	

Much of the chronology can only be approximate; and the dates of the prophets are not always undisputed.

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A typical tribesman of the Bedawin

A HALT AT A WATER-HOLE

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ISRAEL
before CHRIST

an account of

Social & Religious Development in the Old Testament

by

A. W. F. BLUNT, B.D.

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Besides editions of the separate books of the Old Testament and Apocrypha, general Old Testament introductions, and general Old Testament histories (e.g. the volumes of Kent's *Historical Bible* or Sarson and Phillips's *History of the People of Israel*), the following books may be consulted with regard to the subject:

Addis, *Hebrew Religion.*—Barton, *The Religion of Israel.*—Bertholet, *Kulturgeschichte Israels.*—Budde, *The Religion of Israel to the Exile.*—Davidson, *Old Testament Theology.*—Fowler, *The Origin and Growth of the Hebrew Religion.*—Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East.*—Hamilton, *The People of God*, vol. i.—Hölscher, *Geschichte der israelitischen und jüdischen Religion.*—Löhr, *Israels Kulturentwickelung.*—Macalister, *History of Civilization in Palestine.*—Marti, *The Religion of the Old Testament.*—Wheeler Robinson, *The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament.*—H. P. Smith, *The Religion of Israel.*—Ryder-Smith, *The Bible Doctrine of Society.*—Also articles in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* (especially Kautzsch's article on 'The Religion of Israel' in vol. v), and in Peake's one-volume *Bible Commentary.*

2546·2

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INTRODUCTION

The historical study of the Old Testament is as difficult as it is fascinating. Indeed, part of its fascination is due to the difficulties which confront the student in his search for historical truth. In studying the Hebrew records of antiquity, of that period which is strictly prehistoric, the special difficulty lies of course in the fact that the materials to be examined consist largely either of (1) folk-lore and legends which were probably current in prehistoric times in the Near East or in Canaan, and which came into the possession of the Hebrew race at various times in its career, or of (2) specifically national traditions which were handed down orally for centuries (no doubt assuming gradually a fairly fixed form in the process of continual recitation) and were eventually written down at a later date, when the Hebrews had begun to busy themselves with the writing of literature. In regard to such tales, whilst in some cases it is scarcely disputable, and in other cases it may well be, or at least the possibility cannot be excluded, that events which actually happened form their substratum, yet the task of attaining to any complete certainty as to the exact nature of these events is sometimes wellnigh unachievable. A general idea of the conditions of life and society in those early ages, a general conception of the way in which the Hebrew nation was founded, is all that we can reach, by invoking, in our study of the Old Testament narratives, the aid of those records which are unearthed by the labours of archaeologists, and of the discoveries by which astronomical, geological, anthropological, and historical science enables us to form some conception of the infancy of the world and of the life of primitive man and of man before the dawn of history.

Another difficulty, of more general application, is presented by the habit of the Hebrew writers to combine different traditions

of the same event, either by weaving them together into one story, or by placing them side by side with harmonistic links. The analysis of the documents of the Hexateuch[1] and of the historical records of pre-monarchic Israel, while it has not solved all problems, has at any rate reached certain assured results, which all tend to show how frequent is the conflation or simple juxtaposition of materials of very different ages ; and the critical examination of the Old Testament literature reveals manifold proofs how readily and without objection laws, records, psalms, or prophecies of widely separated dates, could be compiled together and all ascribed to one or other famous teacher or leader of Hebrew thought.

Closely related to this habit is the Hebrew custom of editing ancient materials in accordance with the more developed ideas of a later age. The Old Testament as a whole is the product of constant editing and re-editing. It is, in fact, primarily and before all else, a book, or rather a literature, which is intended to preach. Most of it was shaped in written form, sooner or later, by writers deeply imbued with the spirit of the prophetic movement, who wrote in order to promote the objects of that movement and to illustrate the point of view which it strove to teach. These writers took such materials as they found, songs, stories, or legends, laws written and traditional, state archives or recent sermons ; themselves saturated in the spirit of the prophetic teaching, they produced a body of history which, though it often presents a baffling problem to the student who wishes to investigate the exact historical facts at the basis of all this narrative, is always a suggestive and even illuminating illustration of the kind of religious and moral thoughts, ideas, and principles, with which the higher teachers of Israel in successive generations were labouring to nourish the mind and soul of the people.

So read, the Old Testament is one of the most interesting

[1] i.e. the first six books of the Old Testament.

subjects of study in the world. So studied, it becomes one of the best handmaids of true religion. The history is seen to be a complete exposition of the truth declared in the opening verse of the Epistle to the Hebrews, that ' God of old time spoke unto the fathers by the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners '. We note (1) the diversity of God's manner of speaking, as we see how God has inspired various men to use various media—the legend, the tale, the history, ballad or psalm, drama or meditation, sermon or apocalypse, in order to educate the Hebrews to understand that which He desired to teach them. We note, also, (2) how this education was given ' by divers portions ', as we see how, century after century, the great men of Hebrew history, whom we can place in the setting of the times in which they lived and compare with the standard of their surroundings, stand in a succession of growing enlightenment. Each in his turn carries on and develops the truth reached by his predecessors ; and we cannot help feeling, as we study the sequence, that man's growth in the knowledge of God's truth is only man's appropriation of a continuous revelation which God is giving to man, as he is able to bear it. The doctrine of the inspiration of the Old Testament has been too long stated as if it proclaimed the verbal infallibility of that literature, as in every point the accurate statement of exact fact, whether of science or of history. This theory—a man-made thing, for the Bible itself knows nothing of it—has been for many centuries imposed by Western literalism on the Old Testament, and made the measure to which all the infinite variety of God's methods of educating mankind must be made rigidly to conform. Great as have been its services in fostering a veneration for the sacred text, we nevertheless cannot deny that it was a theory which at all times had its own very considerable difficulties to meet. For long it was rendered just tolerable by the well-meant evasions of allegoristic interpretation ; but it became unbearable when the Bible began to be read for

what it actually said and not for what it might by the exercise of ingenuity be made to mean, and when the respect for all truth, however and by whomsoever discovered, began to supplant in men's minds the respect for a preconceived theory of God's ways of revelation.

But, if by 'inspiration' we mean something more akin to what the word really signifies, more applicable to the rich variety of method by which in actual experience God is found to impart wisdom to men, then the doctrine of the inspiration of the Old Testament stands now on a firmer foundation than ever before. We read the literature, of which it is composed, as the record of a great progressive revelation granted by God, and progressively understood by man, leading up to the plenary revelation, in which all the highest religious progress of the Hebrew people finds its culmination and its fulfilment, when 'at the end of these days God spake to man in His Son'.

Note. As the terms folk-lore, legend, myth, allegorism, will recur in this volume, it may be well to give a brief explanation of their meaning. *Folk-lore* means that body of traditional story current among a people to explain its origin and primitive history, or embodying primitive ideas as to certain religious or moral problems. Folk-lore then includes legend and myth. *Legend* is more specifically applied to stories about primitive heroes of the race, while *myths* are stories which deal with gods or demi-gods and their intercourse with one another and with men. These terms are frequently taken as if they meant historically unauthentic stories; thus *legendary* and *mythical* are often used as if they were synonyms of 'false'. But, strictly interpreted, the terms do not necessarily imply this, but mean stories of which the historical kernel (if there is any), lying within the shell of traditional narrative, is unknown or difficult to discover. *Allegoristic interpretation* means that system of exegesis which treats stories not as narratives of supposed facts, but as moralizing tales, in which natural forces, moral qualities, divine activities, &c., have been personified under the form of human agents.

I

The Period from Abraham to Joshua

1. *Patriarchal Life*

The Bible presents the Patriarchal Age as a kind of Eden of social life and religious ideas. Abraham is the ideal Hebrew, both in the qualities of his character and of his relation to God, and in the wealth, leisure, freedom, and peace of his circumstances. The picture of the life of the patriarchs is painted mainly in gold, and with strangely little background. Abraham, it is true, has to buy a field from 'the children of Heth'; and we are told of visits paid by patriarchs to Egypt and to Gerar, whilst an extensive raid into Palestine by a confederation of eastern kings is related in Genesis 14. But all these episodes are remarkably incidental to the main interest. With the ill-omened exception of Lot in Sodom, the patriarchs might be living in an empty land; they seem to take no part in the common life of a district or country.

The biblical story is intended as a vehicle of moral and religious teaching; this fact accounts for its qualities. It provided, as it were, the standard example of the 'good life', illustrating the moral and religious ideas which the teachers of Israel wished to commend to the veneration of the people. But, for an accurate historical view of the life described, both background and atmosphere are needed. These can be supplied, partly from the results of excavation in Palestine and elsewhere (as we shall see in our next section), partly from our knowledge of the general conditions of nomadic life in Arabia. The biblical narrative portrays undoubted Bedawin; and the mode of life of Bedawin is much

TENTS OF THE NOMADS

the same in all ages. It is true that the nomadism of the patriarchs seems to be in process of modification. Thus, while Abraham and Isaac live in tents, Jacob [1] builds a house; again, while Abraham's life is purely pastoral, Isaac and Jacob engage in agriculture,[2] which requires a partly or temporarily settled existence. But these features, if they are not due to the colouring of later narrators, do not substantially affect the nomadic nature of the life described. We are thus enabled to form a general idea of its conditions; and this idea tallies with many details of the story itself, and is borne out by the presence of many survivals from nomadism in later Hebrew custom.

The patriarchal life, then, must be placed in the plane of Arabian nomadism. The patriarchs belong to the race of tent-dwelling wanderers of the desert, who, possessing no settled home, ceaselessly pass from oasis to oasis within the limits of the tribal territory. The life is one of very little romance and of very limited outlook. It is largely an endless fight for bare necessities, and the monotonous round of pilgrimage is regulated entirely by the presence or absence of wells and water-holes.[3] It is a lazy existence; the nomad has no fixed work to do, as an agriculturist has. His occupation is almost exclusively pastoral. His chief wealth is in cattle, in sheep and goats, and his camels are his chief treasure. Manual work he despises and leaves to the women and bondmen; and the only industries of the desert are leather-dressing and the work of the smith, while its chief refinements are the practice of oral poetry and story-telling, and of music. His food is simple, consisting of milk, butter, dates, locusts, with only occasional use of flesh-meat; to this he will add meal, oil, and wine, procured from the outskirts of settled civilization, either by plunder or as a reward for escorting caravans through his territory, or for defending farmers from the raids of other nomad tribes. His clothing, mostly made of skins, consists of

[1] Gen. 33^{17}. [2] Gen. 26^{12} 37^{7}. [3] Gen. $26^{18\text{-}22}$.

a long under-garment and cloak, with turban and sandals; whilst jewels and ornaments are his chief adornment.

They wander in bands, large enough for purposes of self-protection, but necessarily limited by the scantiness of the available food and water supplies. If a tribe becomes numerous, it may roam in detachments over a large area of territory round a tribal head-quarters. The federation of distinct clans is not unusual, but no sense of national unity exists. Families, clans, or tribes will join together or fall apart on small occasion, according to necessity, convenience, or chance. The real bond of loyalty among the Bedawin is the tie of blood-kinship, and their most sacred duty is that of blood-revenge. The clan is essentially a collection of families; and clansmen prefer to marry within[1] their own clan. The head of each family group is autocratic in his power over its members; but the chief, whether of clan, tribe, or federation of tribes, is a sheikh, who owes his position to purity of blood, to wealth, or to personal qualities. He has no real executive power, but his influence is usually very great, as he administers the customary law and maintains the religious rites of the body of which he is the chief; and the power of tribal opinion and custom is extraordinarily strong.

Such, in general, were the social conditions of the patriarchal life. We must now fill in the background, by studying the civilization of those Canaanites among whom the patriarchs mainly dwelt and wandered.

[The following passages, illustrating some of the social conditions here sketched, may be read in connexion with the preceding section: Gen. xix (Lot in Sodom); xx (Abraham at Gerar); xxiii (Abraham and the children of Heth); xxiv (the wooing of Rebecca); xxvi (Isaac at Gerar); xxix (Jacob and Laban); xxxviii (the episode of Judah and Tamar).]

[1] Gen. 24^4 26^{35}.

2. *The Canaanite Background.* (a) *Life*

The work of exploration at Gezer, Taanach, and elsewhere, where mounds of buried cities, one over another, have been recently uncovered, has given us much information about the life of Canaan in the centuries before the Hebrew invasion. Besides scanty relics of Palaeolithic cave-dwellers, considerable remains from the Neolithic Age (which began about 10,000 B. C.) have acquainted us with the existence in the country of two non-Semitic races. One was a race of small people, who dwelt in caves, who lived a life of primitive agriculture, hunting, and flock-tending, who used flint implements and fashioned rude pottery, who burnt their dead, and apparently poured offerings on the ground as sacrifices to the spirits either of earth or of the dead. The other race was of big people who buried their dead; to these perhaps may be ascribed the megalithic monuments, dolmens, menhirs, and gilgals[1] in Moab and Galilee; and the references in the Bible to the Nephilim, Emim, and other giants,[2] suggest that some of this people may have been still living in southern Palestine when the Hebrews arrived.

No certain trace of Babylonian or Egyptian influence in the land is found until the first of the Semitic irruptions. Wherever the Semites came from, whether from the Arabian peninsula, from the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf, or from the north, it is certain that, about 3000 B. C., a branch of them burst into Mesopotamia, conquered the old kingdoms of Sumer and Akkad, in time established a dynasty in Babylon (to which Hammurabi, *c.* 2100 B. C., belongs), and overran Palestine. During the following centuries, Aramaean tribes (among them the probable ancestors of Israel) ranged over the whole country from Palestine to Meso-

[1] *Dolmen*: a large unhewn stone resting table-wise on upright stones. *Menhir*: an upright stone, like a rude obelisk. *Gilgal*: a circle of stones.

[2] Gen. 6[4], Num. 13[33], Deut. 2[10.20].

potamia ; and about 2000 B.C., another wave of Semitic migrants, the Canaanites, occupied and gave its name to Canaan, pushing the Amorites northwards from that land. Finally, about 1400 B.C., another big Semitic movement began, of which the Exodus is an episode, and which resulted in the Hebrew occupation.

A general sketch of the Canaanite civilization will give us the background of the Patriarchal Age, and set for us the scene into which the Hebrews came. We find that the Canaanites have shed their nomadism. They are settled in small towns, mainly on the hills ; the towns are surrounded with high walls,[1] protected by parapet and buttresses, and the streets are narrow and crooked.[2] They have learnt to build the kind of house which remained typical in Palestine throughout many ages ; a house of stone, clay, or brick, consisting usually of an inner courtyard with one, two, or three small rooms opening on to it (a large house might have more than one court) ; it is one-storied, with a flat roof, and sometimes an upper chamber [3] is built on the corner of the roof or on an annexe to the main house. The rooms have small doors and not much window, and there is little furniture ; the bed would usually consist of a carpet or straw-mat with the mantle as covering, though there might be a divan ; there is no hearth, a simple oven or fire-bucket being used for warmth, and for such cooking as was required.

The presence of granaries, oil- and wine-presses, show that the Canaanites had become an agricultural people and cultivated the vine and the olive. The need of water was met by excavating cisterns, and a big water-conduit has been found at Gezer, which shows that the people had some capacity for engineering work. They were obviously wealthy and prosperous, and their relations with foreign countries are revealed in manifold evidences of

[1] Deut. 1^{28}.

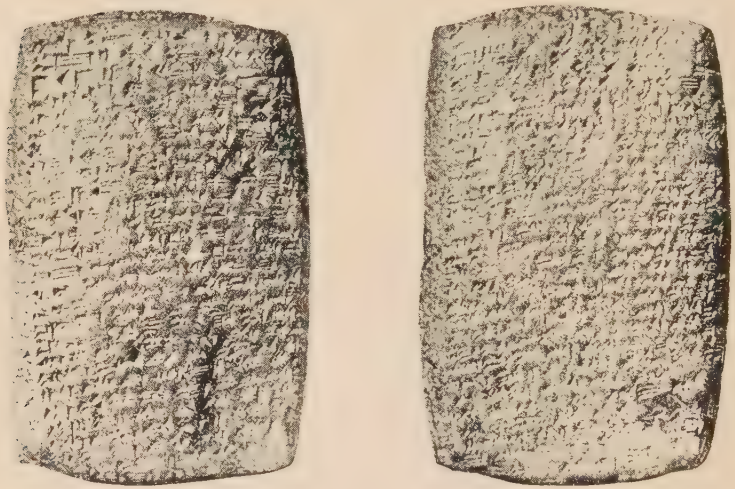
[2] And unclean, as later in Hebrew cities, where the dogs acted as scavengers. Cf. Ps. $59^{6.14}$.

[3] Judges 3^{20}, 2 Kings 4^{10}.

commercial imports (and native imitations), pottery, statuettes, ornaments of gold, silver, and bronze, scarabs, &c., from Babylon and Egypt, whilst towards the end of the period signs of relations with Aegean civilization are found. Bronze is the metal in general use, but before the period closes iron has come in, which the Canaanites use for chariots, of which they even export some to Egypt. The iron probably came to them through the Phoenicians and Philistines, as, though iron ore was found in Lebanon and northern Edom, the country as a whole has no mineral wealth. The land must have been more fertile than it is now, especially in the north and west; to a people coming in from the desert it might well seem to be 'flowing with milk and honey'. But the picture in Deuteronomy 8^{7-9} is a piece of exaggeration, idealizing a land which the people were to venerate as sacred.

The Canaanites lived in little independent city-principalities and village-settlements. They possessed no national cohesion. The land had already started its career as the scene of foreign influence and as a channel between the East and Egypt. The Babylonian kings claim lordship over it as far back as 2600 B.C., and the influence of Babylon was certainly deep and lasting. The first divine name found in Canaan is that of a Babylonian god, Nergal. The Babylonian script was used in Canaan for centuries; and with it must have come a knowledge of Babylonian mythology and very possibly of such laws as Hammurabi's. We hear of Egyptian expeditions to Canaan for timber as early as 2700 B.C., and a tablet of 1900 B.C. shows a Bedawi sheikh bringing gifts to Egypt. But Thutmosis III of Egypt (1501–1447 B.C.) conquered the land and made it a regular Egyptian province, enjoying self-government, but under Egyptian supremacy, with Egyptian garrisons and Residents at the Canaanite courts; an Egyptian colony seems to have existed at Gezer. The Egyptian state archives contained in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets (*c.* 1400 B.C.), and similar tablets of the same period found at Taanach,

containing correspondence between the Canaanite princelets, reveal the existence of extensive diplomatic communication between the Egyptian court and Babylon and the Canaanite princes, and of great facilities for commercial intercourse between them. The chief interest of these tablets for us is (1) that they are all written in Babylonian cuneiform, even when they are written from one Canaanite prince to another; this shows how



Obverse *Reverse*

A TABLET from Tel-el-Amarna

deep had been the influence of Babylon on the country, as its script lasted even after Canaan had been largely Egyptianized; (2) writing is common, but it seems to have been all official and to have been in the hands of an official caste of men, who keep the court archives and write the court letters; each prince has his scribes, more or less well-instructed in the script; and Kiriath-Sepher (=script-town) may have been the centre of the scribal industry; (3) the general picture is one of a number of bickering

native princes, chiefs, and village headmen, who are endlessly at strife with one another, through the exigencies of the tribute to Egypt, through fear of the Hittites (living north of the Lebanon), and through the pressure of the Bedawin. Of these inflowing Bedawin the Hebrews formed part. For at the end of this period Egypt, under Akhnaton, begins to lose her grip on Canaan, and in the last letters we hear of 'Habiru' who are overrunning the south of the land. These Habiru are the Hebrews, or the Hebrews are a branch of them;[1] they are now (*c.* 1400–1200 B.C.) in Palestine, though not yet firmly established there; the third great movement of Semitic Bedawin is in progress.

[In connexion with this section, the relevant chapters in Macalister's *History of Civilization in Palestine* (Cambridge Manuals) should be read. A short account of the Tel-el-Amarna tablets is contained in Niebuhr's *The Tel-el-Amarna Period* ('The Ancient East' series; publ. Nutt). Driver's Schweich Lectures, *Modern Research as illustrating the Bible*, also deal with this and other results of recent exploration. Cf. also Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*.]

2. *The Canaanite Background.* (b) *Religion*

It is a romantic fiction that nomad life is a natural nursery of monotheism. To the primitive Bedawin, any place, tree, stone, well, &c., might come to be regarded as 'numinous',[2] in relation to some seer or oracle-worker who, having become specially sensitive to the numinous feeling there, would tend to become custodian of the numinous place. Thus their deities are less gods than 'wandering demonstrative pronouns'; of this type *El*, a word of primeval Semitic, of which numbers of pre-Israelite

[1] The identification is not beyond question, but is accepted by a majority of scholars. Cf. Burney, *Schweich Lectures*.

[2] A useful word, suggested in Otto's *Das Heilige*, to express the peculiar feeling of terror, mystery, and fascination which, seizing on some people at some moment, makes them convinced of the nearness of a divine presence or power, of a *numen*. Perfect examples of this feeling in operation are seen in the very ancient fragment Exod. 4^{24-26}, and in Gen. 28^{16-19}.

names are compounded, is perhaps the most representative. To such a *numen*, associated with a special locality, with a special quality or a special function, no mythology is attached ; he has not grown out of spirits, nor been evolved from nature-deities. The name is simply a species-name for the cause of the numinous feeling associated with special places.

Such must have been the religious outlook which the Canaanites brought with them from nomadism. When they settled down, their gods were unspecified. The *El* or *baal* [1] of a place was the agricultural god of the locality, its ' owner ' or ' lord '. In time foreign gods, Babylonian, Hittite, and Egyptian, came into Canaan, and the religion became a regular polytheism. Baal was erected into a god, and absorbed the functions of nature-deities, and of sun and moon. His consort, Baala or Astarte, variously represented, was characteristically the goddess of fertility ; orgiastic ritual and sacred prostitution figured specially in her worship. But, whatever the names of the gods, the old idea of *baal*-worship still set the type ; the religion was a nature-religion, the feasts were agricultural, and the god was the owner of nature's forces.

Nothing but the vaguest tendency to monotheism can be supposed to have existed in Canaan. In Egypt, Akhnaton tried to reform religious ideas in that direction ; but his reform cannot have influenced Canaan much ; more effective would be the natural tendency, while not denying other gods, to regard the *El* or *baal* of one's own district as the only god that counted, as ' the god ', and so in practice to monarchize one's polytheism.

The chief characteristics of Canaanite cultus are known to us from excavations, and illustrated by survivals in later Israelite practice. Most distinctive are the ' high places ' ; perhaps every city and village [2] had one. From the description in 1 Samuel 9

[1] The name *baal* was known in Canaan as early as 2000 B.C

[2] 2 Kings 17⁹⁻¹¹.

we see them to have been places with altars and shrines, and with buildings for sacred meals, and for the custodian to live in. Besides these, there would also be shrines of special sanctity, the graves of heroes, or the sites of oracles such as, probably, the terebinths of Moreh or of Mamre,[1] where Abraham stayed. The use of pillars (the *masseba*) and poles (the *ashera*),[2] originally emblems of sexual significance or survivals of stone- and tree-worship, was also universal.

Possibly, while the *baal* was still a mere earth-god, the Canaanites had no altars, and poured libations into the ground. But, as Baal became a celestial, altars for burnt sacrifice were built. Of human sacrifice, the sacrifice of children, and 'foundation-sacrifices' in connexion with buildings, the traces are unmistakable, though not noticeably numerous. The supersession of infant sacrifice by the offering of a lamp between two bowls, apparently a symbolical substitute, is seen at an early date; but the actual offering of infant life had not wholly disappeared, even under the Israelite monarchy. We find jar-buried infants at Megiddo from the late Israelite period, and the rebuilding of Jericho by Hiel in 1 Kings 16^{34} probably provides an instance of a foundation-sacrifice.

The Canaanites buried their dead in graves at or near their houses, or under the floor, as at Jericho; the poor were huddled away promiscuously in a general bone-house, for animals as well as men. The dead were provided with food and other necessaries,[3] and with ornaments. The beliefs of the people can, in the lack of literary records, only be conjectured by a comparison of the excavated remains with the probable survivals in Hebrew practice and with the general ideas of early Semitic religion. That they practised ancestor-worship is probable; the Hebrew custom of

[1] Gen. 12^{6} 18^{1}.

[2] An *ashera* (plur. *asherim*) was a tree or tree-stump, planted in the earth, and sometimes carved in image-form.

[3] Deut. 26^{14}.

'levirate' marriage [1] (i.e. the marriage of a childless widow by her husband's eldest surviving brother) probably originated in the zeal for male issue to keep up the family rites. With this would go a fear of ghosts, of which traces are seen in the cairns raised over the dead,[2] in the survival of mourning customs, such as are enumerated in Ezekiel 24^{17}, Jeremiah 16^{6}, which began either as a taboo protection [3] or to render the mourners unrecognizable to the ghost,[4] and in the mourning elegies mentioned in Amos 5^{16}, Jeremiah 9^{17}, Zechariah 12^{11}.

The Canaanites were especially addicted to the wearing of amulets, such as animal ankle-bones, serpent's heads, golden crescents, &c. They also practised circumcision. This probably was in origin a rite of puberty and marriage-ripeness. It was not a universal Semitic custom, for the Semites of Mesopotamia knew nothing of it. But it was habitual in Egypt from the earliest antiquity. Joshua 5^{2-9} suggests either that the Hebrews had discontinued the rite in Egypt, or that the Egyptians used it, but not the Hebrews. In Exodus 4^{24-26} we see that Moses had left his son uncircumcised, and the rite is there connected with a blood-offering to propitiate a *numen*. It is a later section of the Hexateuch which refers circumcision to Abraham as a covenant-rite.[5]

[Besides the books referred to at the end of § 2, these passages illustrate this section: Joshua v, which describes the circumcision of the people 1 Sam. ix, which gives a picture of a High Place; and 1 Sam. xxviii, which furnishes an instance of ancient necromancy. Cf. also Robertson-Smith *Religion of the Semites*.]

1 Gen. 38^{1-30}, Deut. 25^{5}, Matt. 22^{24}. 2 Joshua 7^{26} 8^{29}, 2 Sam. 18^{17}.

3 Forbidden in Deut. 14^{1}. Death was 'taboo', i.e. it was regarded with awe as a consecrated mystery, not to be approached or touched. A person who came in contact with a dead body or with one who had been near it would himself become taboo.

4 The fear of ghosts and of their influence and possible dangerousness rendered it advisable to deface oneself so as to evade their recognition.

5 Gen. 17^{10} f.

3. *The Hebrews.* (a) *Tribal History*

It is against this Canaanite background that we must see the primitive Hebrew families and tribes. The Bible story is told of one family line; but this is a piece of very intelligible individualization. The history is largely tribal. Thus the story in Genesis 34^{25-31} 49^{5-7} is the tradition of some violent attack which the tribes of Simeon and Levi made on Shechem, in which they suffered so heavily that Simeon vanished and the Levites became homeless wanderers. (Contrast Deuteronomy 33^{8} where the later view of the Levites appears.) Genesis 38^{1-6} is a tradition to account for the heterogeneous character of the clans of Judah. The story of Esau and Jacob is a story of tribal friction; and the account of Jacob's offspring in Genesis 35^{22-26} is best explained as referring to the federation of different tribes, in which the Leah tribes are recruited by the addition of the Rachel tribes, and subsequently of the concubine-tribes.

It has been suggested that the patriarchal names were originally those of local divinities; but the substratum may be the history of actual men.[1] The name of an actual man might have become attached to a city or district, and a tribe which later settled there might take him as its supposed ancestor. We know how stories tend to collect round an individual, of whom one story has been told. In Canaan, moreover, stories would readily grow up round Canaanite shrines to justify their use by the Hebrews. Thus we need not deny that actual history may often be the foundation of the patriarchal narratives. If the religion of the desert, which the Semites brought with them into Mesopotamia, became largely modified by contact with the more advanced civilization of the country in which they settled, it is very possible that a Semite, disliking this development, and hungering for

[1] Farnell, *Greek Hero-cults*, holds that it is possible to tell the difference between a legend based on a real man and one based on a reduced divinity.

simpler usages, may have migrated to Canaan in search of religious purity (the name Abraham is known, as are those of Jacob and Joseph, to have existed in pre-Israelite times); a visit of Bedawin to Egypt in search of food is recorded in a tablet of 1250 B.C., addressed to Sethos II; and the principal features of Joseph's life are paralleled in actual Egyptian history of the period. The story is one of tribal movement; and particular traditions may have grown up at shrines and such places; but the facts of tribal history may have come to be grouped round the names of actual migrants of renown. The tales of the patriarchs may therefore enshrine historical events, though in a form in which the actual history has been largely modified and idealized by later thought. But it is certain that the patriarchal story, so handed down, exercised a great influence on the development of religious and moral ideas in Israel, and persisted in the national tradition as a force which assisted the efforts of later teachers to purify the national religion.

The exact scheme of the later movements, which brought the Hebrews into Canaan, can only be conjectured. The invasion certainly did not take place all at once. Some of the tribes must have been in Canaan long before Moses, and remained there. Thus, besides the mention of the Habiru in the Amarna tablets, Thutmosis III is recorded as having conquered the *Jacob-el* and (?) *Joseph-el*; a papyrus of 1250 B.C. speaks of the mountain of *User* in Canaan, where the name suggests the tribe of Asher; and the *stêlê* of Merneptah (1220 B.C.) mentions *Ysiraal* (=Israel) as living in Canaan. But other tribes (perhaps the Joseph tribes only) may have been squeezed down into Egypt and enslaved there. That certain of the Hebrew tribes came from Egypt into Canaan seems certain. Possibly the invasion took place in two main waves—the Leah tribes coming by way of Kadesh about 1375 B.C., while the Rachel tribes came from Sinai and entered by the east in 1200 B.C. or soon after. Whether the federation of

the tribes took place at Kadesh, or in Canaan, or partly in both localities, cannot be decided. But it is certain that in time the Egyptian tradition became the common property of all the tribes.

It is quite clear that the numbers of the Hebrews have been exaggerated to impossibility in Exodus $12^{37\cdot38}$. They must have been indefinitely smaller; only two midwives are required for the Hebrews in Egypt (Exodus 1^{15}); and in Exodus 23^{29} (repeated in Deuteronomy 7^{22}) it is implied that the people would not be sufficient to occupy the whole of Canaan. Once in Canaan, their numbers increased by federation among themselves and by amalgamation with the Canaanites (see Chapter II).

It is also clear that the conquest lasted for a long time, and was not carried out in one generation or by one series of campaigns. In Joshua 15^{13} f. we see that the south was subdued by isolated efforts, and that its hero belonged to the Edomite clan of Kenizzites; Judah in fact was a composite tribe [1] of heterogeneous elements, and is not heard of till David's time; it is not mentioned in Deborah's Song (Judges 5). In the north none of the tribes was completely successful, and Dan,[2] hemmed in by the Canaanites, had even to break away northwards. Separate detachments occupied patches of the country, and in Exodus 23^{29} this is even stated as God's intention. The Hebrew conquest was not completed till David and Solomon's time.[3]

The conquest was largely peaceable. No break separates Canaanite from Israelite civilization. What happened was simply that Hebrew Bedawin overran Palestine, and that the country became a mass of little clans and independent village-settlements, amid which the Canaanite principalities to a great extent continued for some time to maintain themselves. How far the Hebrews as a whole had yet any real union among themselves is difficult to decide. The tendency was to disintegration. But it is significant that they never became mere polytheists.

[1] 1 Sam. 27^{10} $30^{26\text{-}31}$. [2] Joshua 19^{47} [3] 1 Kings 9^{20} f.

They all worshipped one god, Yahweh; and though this worship deteriorated in Canaan, yet as a force making for unity and checking disintegration it certainly existed; and when national unity was achieved by David, it was achieved under the aegis of Yahwism. But unity did not come till then. In particular, the northern Hebrews were entirely divided from the southern by a string of Canaanite fortresses [1] that remained in the Kishon valley and from Gezer to Jerusalem; and this separation, temporarily ended by David and Solomon, returned again under Rehoboam in the form of two distinct Israelite kingdoms.

[The 'Blessing of Jacob' in Gen. xlix is an archaic song. The story of the Gibeonites in Joshua ix illustrates the general history of the conquest, which is told with obvious honesty in Judges i, ii. These passages should be read with this section. Burney, *Schweich Lectures*, deals in greater detail and very helpfully with conjectures as to the tribal history underlying the biblical narrative.]

3. *The Hebrews.* (b) *The Patriarchal Religion*

The religion of the Hebrew tribes in pre-Mosaic times can be only dimly discerned. The biblical story is a compilation of various elements, and has been very much edited by those who compiled it. Moreover, it is not always self-consistent; thus Genesis 4^{26} carries the worship of Yahweh back to antediluvian times, while Exodus $6^{2\text{-}3}$ represents the name as being a new revelation to Moses. 'Yahweh', as an element in a man's name, is found in Babylonia in 2000 B.C., and such a divine name may have existed in northern Arabia even earlier.[2] Possibly some of the Hebrew tribes (perhaps the Leah tribes) had learnt to call their god by this name long before Moses' time; and the name cannot have been unknown to such of the tribes as went to Egypt, though they

[1] Judges i.

[2] Burney, *Judges*, pp. 243 f., claims to have proved conclusively that Yahweh or Yahu was originally an Amorite deity.

certainly did not then worship Yahweh, if they ever had. Others of the tribes may have had their own god; thus the name Gad was that of a god of Luck,[1] whose worship still existed in the time of Isaiah 65^{11}; and we hear of a place called Baal-gad in Joshua 11^{17} 12^{7}.

So far as we can see, the cultus was much like that of other Semites. There are no idols; the religious rites are in the

A SACRED PILLAR cut out of solid rock

hands of the sheikh, the seer, the oracle-worker, the custodian of a 'numinous' place. If any altar was used it was probably one of earth or unhewn stone,[2] at which animals, meal, and sprinkled blood would be offered. The chief cultus-objects were, as with other Bedawin, the pillar (Genesis 28^{18} 31^{45}) and the sacred tree (Genesis 12^{6}; cf. Judges 9^{37}). In Genesis $15^{9\text{-}18}$ we are given an exceedingly interesting picture of a primitive covenant-

[1] Gen. 30^{11}.

[2] Exod. $24^{4\text{-}8}$.

rite. We also hear of teraphim,[1] which seem to have been images in human form,[2] perhaps used for divination, and may have been statues of ancestors or emblems used in ancestor-cult. But it is noteworthy that there is no tradition of cruel and bloody rites among the primitive Hebrews; human sacrifice was not uncommon among the Canaanites and was not unknown in Israel;[3] but the story of the offering of Isaac[4] may embody a tradition of repugnance to such a custom from early times.

The belief seems to resemble that of the primitive rather than the settled Canaanites; it may have been among the Hebrews a survival of nomadic ideas, or a conscious reaction against that which Canaanite religion had become, i.e. a reaction from polytheism to a simpler *el*-worship. Thus we hear of *El-roi* in Genesis 16^{13}, *El-shaddai*[5] in Genesis 17^{1}, Exodus 6^{3}, *El-olam* in Genesis 21^{33}, *El-elohe-Israel* in Genesis 33^{20}, *El-bethel* in Genesis 35^{7}, *El-elyon* in Genesis 14^{18}; and in Judges 9 we hear of a god at Shechem (where Hebrews and Canaanites dwelt together) who is called *baal-berith* in verse 4, and *El-berith* in verse 46. The tradition that Abraham migrated into Canaan under divine impulse seems to embody the idea that Hebrew religion looked back to an origin, not in a comparatively developed polytheism, but in something more simple and unsophisticated. The probability, therefore, is that the pre-Mosaic Hebrews were not so much polytheists as worshippers of a vague power or *numen*, probably conceived of in somewhat anthropomorphic[6] fashion as a more or less familiar, near, and personal guide, friend, and father.[7] It

[1] Gen. 31^{19}. [2] 1 Sam. $19^{13\text{-}16}$. [3] Exod. 22^{29}. [4] Gen. 22.

[5] Though this is not a separate deity.

[6] *Anthropomorphism*; the ascription of a human form or of human qualities and affections to the deity.

[7] Abraham's relation to God, as presented n the tradition, is one of unique familiarity. Nothing like it is seen in the rest of the Old Testament. Moses' relation to Yahweh s of a very different character it is one of intercourse but not of familiarity.

seems, however, that among the tribes which went to Egypt these ideas gave way [1] before the magnificent polytheism of the Egyptians. At any rate, in the story of the Golden Calf [2] we find the escaped Hebrews ready to worship their god under the image of a calf; and a survival of the same tendency is seen in the bull-images of Yahweh,[3] which were later worshipped at Bethel and Dan.

[Besides Gen. xv, already referred to, the following passages illustrate this section: Gen. xxii (the sacrifice of Isaac); xxviii (Jacob at Bethel); xxxi, xxxii (Jacob's flight from Laban); while Judges xviii gives a good picture of primitive reverence for cultus-objects.]

3. *The Hebrews.* (c) *Moses*

Moses made Yahweh the god of Israel, and by so doing established a basis for the unification of the Hebrew tribes. We do not know how far this unification went in his own time. If some of the tribes were already in Canaan, they may not have joined the Hebrew confederacy till after Joshua entered the land. On the other hand, it is possible that the oasis of Kadesh was still the head-quarters for the tribes in Canaan, and that the federation with the tribes from Egypt grew up there. Certainly the tradition of a long sojourn at Kadesh [4] is deeply-rooted in Hebrew story. In any case, the deliverance from Egypt and the work of Moses, as has been said, became in time the common property of all the tribes.

The work of Moses, simply stated, was to accredit Yahweh to the tribes in Egypt,[5] to tell them that the Yahweh of Horeb cared for them and would deliver them; and the event vindicated his assurance.[6] We cannot say how the belief in Yahweh came to Moses. He may have been the god of the tribe of Levi, to which Moses belonged, or of the Leah tribes, or of the tribes, like the

[1] Joshua 24^{14}.
[2] Exod. 32.
[3] 1 Kings $12^{28\text{-}30}$.
[4] Num. 13^{26} 20^{1}.
[5] Exod. $3^{6.15}$ 6^{6}.
[6] Exod 15^{21}.

Kenite-Midianites,[1] who lived round Kadesh and of whom Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, was priest. It is certainly implied that the way of Yahweh's worship [2] was unknown to Moses and the tribes in Egypt, though it is obvious that the name cannot have been unfamiliar to them. It also seems clear that Yahweh was connected with Kadesh (Exodus 3^{1}) and with Horeb, which is regularly regarded [3] as his own mountain. Perhaps there was a sacred place at Kadesh, dedicated to the worship of a local *El*, who may by now have become identified with a Yahweh of Horeb or Sinai (possibly in origin a volcano-god). But, however this may be, it is clear that in Yahwism Moses founded an historical religion, based on the actual deliverance from Egypt, and established a covenant-relation between the Hebrews and Yahweh; [4] and it is a momentous circumstance that this covenant was one, not of kinship or fictitious descent from the god, as in so many other primitive religions, but of a definite contract of protection and obedience. It is also clear that the character of the Mosaic Yahweh is supremely marked by 'jealousy'; therein it is different from the patriarchal conception of *El*. Thus Moses started Hebrew religion on its long career of exclusive veneration for a transcendent deity; and in this idea of transcendence lay the germs of future monotheism. To call Moses a monotheist is an anachronism. But he certainly taught monolatry, i.e. the exclusive worship of one god, and set upon Hebrew belief the mark of a national 'henotheism', i.e. of reverence for one god as the Divine Lord of the nation; while the emphasis on Yahweh's transcendence was responsible for the age-long inability of Yahwism to allow idol-representations of its god to find a home in its cultus.

Our records scarcely allow us to say precisely what cultus Moses taught or allowed; some Hebrew practices may be part of their Semitic inheritance, while others may have been borrowed

[1] Exod. 3^{1}.
[2] Exod. 3^{13} 10^{26}.
[3] Judges $5^{4.5}$, 1 Kings 19^{8}.
[4] Exod. 34.

from the Canaanites before and after the Hebrew invasion. Thus the Ark [1] (a portable box to hold the sacred stones), which figures so largely in the Hexateuch, need not have been peculiar to the Hebrew tribes. The Tent of Meeting [2] is entirely in accordance with Bedawin usage. The description of the Tabernacle in Exodus 25–27 is of course a pure anachronism, which transfers the arrangements of the second Temple back into the wilderness times. But it is very likely that a tent was used in Mosaic times as a place of oracular revelation. Its relation, if there was any, to the Ark is very dim and uncertain. In 1 Kings 2^{28} we read of a tent containing an altar, whilst there was no altar connected with the Ark. It is possible that this tent with an altar was the old Mosaic tent, that it had been preserved in Judah, and came to Jerusalem with David. It is certainly remarkable that David seems [3] to have received the Ark into Jerusalem with much hesitation.

Moses' use of a magic rod [4] may be regarded as certain; we find Joshua using his javelin in a similar way.[5] So, too, we cannot doubt that Moses made use of the method [6] of sacred lots, and of divination by Urim and Thummim; [7] these last seem to have been sacred stones or aerolites which were used for purposes of oracular response; their use continued in Israel for a long time, but after the Exile [8] it had ceased, and their nature had been so far forgotten that the Hexateuch contains no description of them.

It is unlikely that Moses made any special provisions as to annual festivals. The great feasts of subsequent Hebrew history are plainly agricultural; but the nomadic yeaning-time festival, when sacrifices of first-born animals, and perhaps, in early times, of the first-born of men, were offered, may be the earliest form of the Hebrew Passover. The Sabbath is the only feast mentioned

1 Num. 10^{35}.
2 Exod. 33^{7}, 2 Sam. 7^{6}.
3 2 Sam. $6^{9.10}$.
4 Exod. $17^{9.11}$.
5 Joshua $8^{18.26}$.
6 Joshua 7^{14} f.
7 Deut. 33^{8}.
8 Ezra 2^{63}.

THE NOMADIC SHEPHERD on the hills of Judaea

in the Decalogue (cf. Exodus 20); and even that implies the settled life of agriculture. Nomad life is usually too idle to need a day of rest, and the nomad work of tending cattle cannot be remitted on one day a week. But the feasts of the new and full moon are habitual among nomads, and the time of sheep-shearing [1] is their great festivity; these may have been observed in Mosaic times.

It is doubtful what, if any, provision was made by Moses for the establishment of a priestly class. The exclusive prerogatives of the Levites certainly date from a very much later age. In the time of the Judges we hear of priests [2] who are not of the tribe of Levi, and even under the monarchy the priests were not always Levites. But the Levites seem to have had, if not an exclusive, at least a special claim [3] to perform priestly functions. It is possible that the party (probably mostly Moses' tribesmen) who remained faithful to Moses, when the rest of the people [4] worshipped the golden calf, may have been rewarded with a special position; and if, as has been suggested above,[5] the tribe of Levi (to which Moses belonged) was ruined in the invasion, a special priesthood of Yahweh may have been organized out of its ruins. Or, alternatively, it is possible that the Levites were originally the priestly class, raised to tribal status by a later age. We may note also that at this time a priest's special task would be not so much to offer sacrifice (this could be done by chief, father, or other laymen) as to act as seer, to take omens, to use the sacred lot, and, no doubt, to give decisions in cases brought to him.

The tradition that Moses was a lawgiver [6] was so general in Israel that all laws were placed under his name. It is certain that much of the so-called 'Law of Moses' is posterior to his time; it is entirely alien to desert life; and much of it, e.g. the laws of sacrifices, was unknown [7] to the earlier canonical prophets.

1 Gen. 38^{12}; cf. 1 Sam. 25^4, 2 Sam. 13^{23}.
2 Judges 17^5.
3 Judges 17^{13}.
4 Exod. 32^{26-29}.
5 § 3 (*a*) *ad init.*
6 Exod. 15^{25}.
7 Amos 5^{25}, Jer. 7^{22}.

But, though we cannot say when and how the various ordinances were first written down, we must not think that the whole of the written Law is necessarily post-Mosaic in its first enunciation. The organization of justice described in Exodus 18^{19-22} may be represented as having been more systematic than was actually the case; but law would be necessary to the tribes in the wilderness, and after their experience of servitude in Egypt, a strong lawgiver would be needed to establish central principles of religious and moral conduct. We have no reason to suppose that the law of Mosaic times could not be ethical in quality. Mosaic Israel was not a quite primitive race, and laws showing a high moral standard were known to other peoples. A real proportion of the written Law may be taken to have originated in the decisions which Moses gave and in the principles which he proclaimed. It is not very probable that he reduced much of his legislation to writing. Nomadic tribes would be unlikely to encumber themselves with law-tablets. The primitive lawgiver to such tribes was essentially the oracular deliverer of the will of God (the *Torah*); his decisions would mainly be individual and personal; he would administer the tribal customs, while at the same time his verdicts would tend to modify those customs. But that Moses actually enunciated general maxims, besides giving individual decisions, is a reasonable supposition. The tradition which looked back to Moses as the great lawgiver of Israel is therefore not widely astray from the probable facts.

The earliest law-sections of the Hexateuch are the Book of the Covenant (Exodus 20^{22}–23^{19}), the Decalogue (Exodus 20^{1-17}), and the section in Exodus 34^{14-28}. But these, as they stand, are intended for agricultural life, and their moral precepts breathe the tone of eighth-century prophecy; e.g. Hosea 8^{5} and Exodus 20^{4} condemn the calf-worship, to which Elijah and Elisha had not objected. But some elements in these documents are probably much earlier than that date, and Exodus 34^{14-28} seems in general

to be even more primitive. But Moses' legacy to Israel was not a written code, but the spirit in his law-giving, by which he moulded the mind of his tribes; that spirit was the product of the Yahwism which he established, and which was the chief asset of the tribes, as they began their work of settling in Canaan. From this point of view the long stay at Kadesh was most important, as it gave time for a tradition of Mosaic law to be established.

If an inevitable uncertainty attaches to the details of Moses' work, the general character and effect of that work can be confidently accepted as an historic fact. That he transformed Hebrew life is indisputable; and the main tendencies of the change which he effected can be gauged.[1] He gave great prominence to the idea of the spirituality of God, and connected this idea with the name Yahweh. He thus revived and developed the conceptions of patriarchal religion, which had been obliterated in Egypt. He taught the Hebrews to believe in a God who was not a mere name for an impassive natural force, but was the personal, though unseen, cause of events, and to whom, as a moral Being, the actions of man have a moral meaning and importance. This teaching remained as a force in Hebrew religion, always fermenting within it to generate possibilities of yet higher development. The later teachers of Israel all built on the Mosaic foundation. Without the persistent influence of Moses' teaching, there is, humanly speaking, no assignable reason why the Hebrew religion ran a course so different from the course of religion among the other and very similar tribes which dwelt around and among the Hebrews after and before their settlement in Canaan, and with which their relations were for centuries so close and intimate.

[Read Exod. i^{8}–vii^{13} (the story of Moses' life up to his commission); xx–xxiii (the Decalogue and Book of the Covenant); xxxii–xxxiv (the story of the golden calf and what followed).]

[1] See Davidson, *Old Testament Theology*, for a fuller treatment of these features.

II

The Settlement of Israel in Canaan

1. *Israel and the Canaanites*

Israel entered Canaan as a set of loosely-related nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes, possessing, however, a possibility of unification in their common relation to the Mosaic Yahweh. They found in Canaan a set of tribes of the same race as their own, speaking substantially the same language as themselves, possessing no national unity, but enjoying a relatively high civilization. These Canaanites they were not able to overwhelm. In the hills the Israelites mainly prevailed, but in the valleys the Canaanite war-chariots were too formidable for them. The conquest, as has been said, took long, and proceeded mostly by peaceable amalgamation. At first they lived side by side,[1] Canaanite cities and Israelite settlements within close reach of one another, all over the country. Then they began to coalesce and intermarry.[2] But wherever this happened the Israelites eventually became dominant. Only in fortresses like Gezer and Jebus did the Canaanites retain any independence up to the time of the monarchy.

The result was that the Israelites began to assimilate the higher civilization. Some tribes, like Simeon and Reuben, remained nomadic. But the majority now began to build houses on the Canaanite model, and to learn from the Canaanites the arts of agriculture and the cultivation of the vine, the olive, and the fig, adopting, too, the custom of the seven-yearly fallow,[3] which they continued to practise for centuries. In the south also, which was more generally pastoral country, they settled down. In sum, they became a race of peasant yeomen; and their early leaders, the Judges (so far as we have any evidence), Saul, and David,

[1] Judges 1, 19[12]. [2] Judges 3[5-6], Gen. 38[2]. [3] Exod. 23[10], 1 Macc. 6[49-53].

were of this type. They continued the nomadic industries of the smith and the leather-dresser, but they engaged in no commerce, though their new land lay within a perfect network of great caravan-routes,[1] and though, as nomads, trading was not unknown to them.[2] Probably this abstinence was at present inevitable. The Philistines held the coast, and the

LEATHER-DRESSERS

Canaanite fortresses were still unsubdued in the up-country. Traffic and communication were[3] insecure, and trading had thus

[1] The chief routes were (*a*) one from Egypt along the coast to Carmel, where it divided into two branches, one following the coast to Phœnicia, the other crossing the plain of Jezreel to the Jordan and then running north to Syria and north-east to Damascus; (*b*) one from Elath on the Red Sea through the land east of Jordan to Damascus; this is "the King's high-road" (Num. 20[17]). From it one arm went westward, crossing the Jordan at Jericho; another ran from Elath to Hebron, where it met (*c*) a road from the Nile delta to Hebron.

[2] Gen. 37[25].

[3] Judges 5[6-11].

to be left to the Canaanites ; so much so that the term ' Canaanite ' could be used [1] as synonymous with ' merchant '.

As part of the civilization Israel also began to assimilate the Canaanite religion. The biblical stories of the Creation and of the Flood are, it is generally admitted, ultimately derived from the Babylonian mythology, with which Israel may have become acquainted through the medium of the Canaanites. Some tales, e.g. that of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, may originally have been native Canaanite legends.[2] But Canaanite influence was most powerful in the sphere of cultus. To the Israelites, setting out to learn the agricultural life, the agricultural gods of the countryside, the *baalim* and *ashtaroth*, who wielded nature's forces and blessed or cursed the crops, would seem to invite their worship. The book of Judges presents the story as a see-saw of universal apostasy and universal repentance ; but this is due to the editing of a later age. The fact is that the Israelites tended to assimilate their Yahweh to the local gods, though Yahweh always had the advantage in time of war, as he was a god of hosts, while the *baalim* were rustic divinities. Thus a fusion of

[1] Zeph. 1^{11}, Prov. 31^{24}.

[2] In regard to such hypotheses, we must distinguish between the supposed origin of any biblical story, and its value as a vehicle of spiritual truth. Whatever may be the source from which certain antique tales reached the Israelites, the method in which they moulded these tales to embody the higher lessons of their religion is the point of fundamental importance. The differences in ethical and spiritual tone between the Hebrew and the Babylonian stories of the Creation or of the Flood is infinitely more remarkable than the obvious relationship between them. The same is probably the case with other tales, of which we do not possess the original edition, from which Israel derived them. If, for instance, it is true, as has been suggested, that the story of Jacob's wrestling with the angel (Gen. $32^{22\,f.}$) is derived from a Canaanite legend of a hero's contest with the river-god Jabbok, we can feel certain that the genius of Hebrew religious teachers has subjected the narrative to immense modification in making it into an instrument through which a particular form of profound spiritual experience is wonderfully set forth.

Canaanite with Israelite cultus proceeds. The old shrines are taken over and given a connexion with the Hebrew patriarchs; the old high places with the pillars and the poles,[1] the altars and the sacrifices, are adopted and used, and others are added.[2] There was neither law nor prejudice to hinder this; the sentiments of the books of Kings against the high places are those of its editors; at present a yearly visit[3] to a neighbouring shrine for a sacrificial meal was a regular family festivity; and the use of such places for sanctuary is recognized in Exodus $21^{6.13.14}$. Human sacrifice was at least not unknown, and is indeed implied in Exodus 22^{29}; but the stories of Abraham and of Jephthah[4] seem to suggest that it was not common. Sacred prostitution, again, is mentioned in several passages. The general picture of the cultus is given in 1 Kings $14^{23.24}$.

The festal calendar of Israel was also probably influenced by foreign examples, whether of Babylon or of Canaan. The three festivals mentioned in Exodus $23^{15.16}$ $34^{18.22}$ are all of agricultural significance, and may therefore have been either borrowed from the Canaanites who were the tutors of the Hebrews in agriculture, or at least connected with leading events of the agricultural year, after the model of similar Canaanite feasts. They were celebrated by the Israelites as joyous festivities with music and song, and were liable to be used for purposes of popular orgy.[5] The origin of the Sabbath is conjectural. In the earliest literature of Hebrew Yahwism (Exodus 23^{12} 34^{21} 20^{8}) it appears as a day of cessation from field work; its observance therefore probably dates from a time when the Israelites were becoming agriculturists. That it is ultimately of Babylonian origin is a generally accepted theory; but we have no means of deciding whether it came to the Hebrews through the Canaanites or in some other way.

The Israelites did not become overt polytheists; we hear of

1 Joshua 24^{26}. Cf. p. 23. 2 Hos. 10^{1}. 3 1 Sam. 13.9.
4 Judges 11^{34-40}. 5 1 Sam. 1^{14}, Isa. 28.7.

no adoption of foreign gods in this period, nor even of an image of Baal as in 2 Kings 11^{18}, and perhaps in 1 Kings 15^{13}; nor is any attempt actually to represent Yahweh mentioned. But the use of images,[1] of oracular and magical emblems, &c., is quite general; and the worship of Yahweh under the form of a calf seems to have aroused no protest, even from Elijah.[2] Rich men, like Gideon's father [3] or Micah, have a holy thing of their own. Amulets of Astarte, Isis, &c., were in general use, as were the ephod [4] and the teraphim; while the brazen serpent which Hezekiah eventually destroyed [5] was a common Canaanite emblem. The later prohibitions of Exodus 20^{4} 34^{17}, aimed at all this image-cultus, were far from being successful;[6] and the practices of consulting oracles, of omen-taking,[7] wizardry, and necromancy, were equally persistent in Israel,[8] in spite of Saul's efforts [9] to suppress some of them.

As was the cultus, so was the belief. Yahweh becomes the god of the soil. Clan-worship, though not entirely vanishing,[10] tends to be replaced by local worship; and Yahweh is conceived of as the lord of individual localities.[11] In general, too, he is the god

1 Judges 3^{19} 17^{3} 18^{30}.

2 The verses (1 Kings 12^{26-33}) referring to Jeroboam's 'sin' express the ideas of a much later age. In Jeroboam's time the priesthood was not a Levitical monopoly, nor was Jerusalem a place of general pilgrimage. There were many shrines in northern Palestine of greater age and sanctity; Bethel was one of the most famous of them. The golden calves may have been an innovation, imported perhaps from Egypt, where Jeroboam had taken refuge during Solomon's reign.

3 Judges 6^{25} 17^{3-12}.

4 For the *ephod*, cf. Judges 8^{27}, 1 Sam. $23^{6.9}$ 30^{7}. In such passages the ephod cannot be anything but an image. But the term is also frequently used for a linen priestly vestment, as in 1 Sam. 2^{18} 22^{18}, 2 Sam. 6^{14}. The use of *teraphim* (cf. p. 30) is alluded to in Judges 17^{5}, 1 Sam. 19^{13}, Hos. 3^{4}, Zech. 10^{2}.

5 2 Kings 18^{4}. 6 Isa. $2^{8.20}$. 7 2 Sam. 5^{24}.

8 Isa. 8^{19}. 9 1 Sam. 28^{3}. 10 1 Sam. $20^{6.29}$.

11 2 Sam. 15^{7}, Amos 8^{14}, passages which seem to show that the popular opinion

who lives in Palestine,[1] and can only be worshipped in Palestine; to go into a foreign country is to be driven to 'serve other gods'; [2] and Naaman can only worship Yahweh in Syria [3] if he takes some earth from Palestine with him. The tradition, however, of Yahweh's connexion with Sinai and Horeb is never quite forgotten; [4] nor, indeed, did the Israelites show any tendency to reduce him to an earth-deity; his celestial rank is generally admitted.[5] But even so, the conception is crudely anthropomorphic; [6] Yahweh has to come and see what men are doing.[7] His character, similarly, is that of 'jealousy' reduced to its crudest form. He is envious [8] and capricious,[9] the sender of evil, and the author of destruction on light occasion.[10] The Israelite belief is in danger of fatally vulgarizing the Mosaic conception of Yahweh's transcendence and of his exclusive claim to honour.

The higher elements in Yahwism did not suffer all this deterioration without a struggle. Deborah rebukes the choice of new gods,[11] and calls the people to battle in the name of Yahweh of Sinai. At Shiloh, where a built temple stood,[12] was preserved the tradition of an imageless worship, in connexion with the Ark within it; though this Ark was clearly regarded [13] as a kind of magical palladium. It is possible, too, that Judah was less tainted with baalism than the north; it is out of Judah [14] that the travelling Levites

of the Hebrew *fellahin* tended to think of Yahweh somewhat (though never so crudely) in the same way as the Canaanites thought of their local *baalim*, or as a Hindu *ryot* thinks of his village divinity, or as an uneducated Breton peasant might think of the patron Virgin or Saint of his village as the special tutelary power of the locality.

1 Judges 11^{24}.
2 Ruth 1^{15}, 1 Sam. 26^{19}.
3 2 Kings 5^{17}.
4 1 Kings 19^{8}.
5 Gen. 19^{24} 21^{17} 22^{11} 28^{12}, 1 Kings 22^{19}.
6 Cf. p. 30, note 6.
7 Gen. 11^{5} 18^{21}.
8 Gen. 3^{22}.
9 Exod. 33^{19}.
10 1 Sam. 6^{19}, 2 Sam. 6^{7}.
11 Judges $5^{5.8}$.
12 1 Sam. $3^{3.15}$.
13 1 Sam. 4^{7}.
14 Judges 17^{7} 19^{1}.

come. Finally, Samuel preaches an avowed henotheism.[1] Moreover, the Israelites never went so far from Mosaic teaching as to place Yahweh at the head of a pantheon, or to reduce him to the position of a tribal ancestor. Though our records of this period are more occupied with the story of the nation's struggles with its enemies, and give us little information about any activities in the direction of spiritual enlightenment, we must probably allow for the existence of not a few higher minds in Israel between Moses and Elijah, to whom the prevalent deterioration in religion was hateful, and who strove to lead the people towards the light of higher truth. The influence of Moses was still working in the mind of Israel, though it did not begin to come openly to its own until a later period. Again, the national ballads of this early time, of which a few such as Deborah's Song have been preserved in Hebrew literature, and the tales which were told about the heroes of old, enshrining as they did (though doubtless in a crude and primitive form as yet) such ideals as they still inculcate in the written form to which they were afterwards reduced, must have exercised an educative influence on the nation and must have saved it from succumbing more completely to the demoralizing influences of the surrounding heathenism. But, in spite of these struggles of the higher religious elements in the nation, it is plain from the book of Judges that the Israelites were in danger of gradually sinking into a Canaanite baalism under a Yahwist formula, especially if tribal disintegration went any farther with them. From this danger they were saved by the growing need of national unity, and by the genius of one man, who seized on the revival of patriotic feeling as an opportunity to reclaim the national religion.

[The passages which best illustrate this section are: Judges vi (the story of Gideon); ix (the usurpation of Abimelech in Shechem); xi (Jephthah); xvii, xviii (Micah and his images; and the migration of the Danites); 1 Sam. xxviii (the witch of Endor).]

[1] 1 Sam. 7[3].

2. *Social Conditions in Israel*

Israel was only one remove from nomadism, and her social state was primitive and rustic. City-life did not appeal to the people. They lived almost entirely in village settlements, the population of which was limited by the size of a convenient area to cultivate. The village was a band of families, inevitably blood-related to one another. Tribal and clan feeling weakened as the tie of neighbourhood became important. The village shared a common pasture, but each family had its own field or vineyard and lived on its own produce; and it was unusual to alienate land; indeed, the book of Ruth (which, though written at a later date, gives an excellent picture of village life at this time) shows[1] how carefully provision was made for the preservation of the family plot in the family. Each district[2] was an independent entity under its own rulers, the village elders, who were the heads of the various families. We hear of 'princes of Succoth' (Judges 8^{14}), 'rulers of Shechem' (Judges 9^{2}), 'elders of Gilead' (Judges 11^{5}) or 'of Jezreel' (1 Kings 21^{8}). These headmen were equal in theory, and their authority was based on public opinion; they administered traditional law, but they had no executive power. The village life was lived in public, and 'the gate' was its centre; it was the place of law,[3] and no doubt the centre of gossip. The spoken word, the oath or vow, was sacred and irrevocable;[4] the first revolt against extreme literalism in this respect is noted in 1 Samuel 14^{45}.

Within the family the head was absolute autocrat. It has been suggested that signs of an earlier matriarchal system are not entirely absent; that e.g. the tent seems to belong to the wife in the cases of Jael and Sarah;[5] that a common descent from Leah or from Rachel may have been a method of explaining the

1 Ruth 4^{1-4}. 2 Joshua 17^{11}, Judges 11^{26}. 3 Job 29^{7} f.
4 Judges 11^{35}, Gen. 27^{33}. 5 Judges 4^{17}, Gen. 24^{67}

existence of a special bond of unity among the Leah- and the Rachel-tribes respectively; that in Genesis 2^{14} 24^{5}, and possibly in Judges 15^{1}, we may see relics of a system according to which a man joined his wife's family; and that a man was allowed to marry his step-sister, if she was only his father's daughter,[1] and

SETTLEMENT. Ploughing

not his mother's. But these, if they are rightly so interpreted, are after all only isolated survivals. The Israelites are now under a system of full patriarchy. Thus (1) they are theoretically polygamous, though in practice they do not seem to have often had more than two wives. (Deuteronomy 21^{15} makes definite provision for bigamous custom.) Motherhood, especially of male children, is a woman's chief glory; and the

[1] Gen. 20^{12}, 2 Sam. 13^{13}.

system of concubinage[1] allowed her to earn the privileges of motherhood by substituting her handmaid for herself. It is strange that there is no trace of adoption in the Old Testament. (2) Origin from the father legitimizes a son. The father's son, even if born of a concubine or a harlot, has[2] apparently some sort of right of inheritance, unless forcibly prevented. (3) A son

Carrying the harvest

could take over his father's harem (with the exception of his own mother); indeed to do so was a way of declaring his right or claim[3] to the succession. This custom was forbidden later (Deuteronomy 22^{30}); but the prohibition seems to have been disregarded (Ezekiel 22^{10}), and it is repeated in Leviticus 18^{7} 20^{11}. All this implies paternal absolutism; how absolute was the father's power is seen from the facts that (*a*) he might hand over his daughters to prostitution;[4] this is eventually

1 Gen. 29, 30.
2 Gen. 21^{10}, Judges $11^{1,2}$.
3 2 Sam. 16^{21}, 1 Kings 2^{17}.
4 Gen. 19^{8}, Judges 19^{24}.

forbidden in Leviticus 19[29]; (*b*) he had the power of putting his children to death,[1] and even Deuteronomy (21[18 f.]) later dares only to try to limit its exercise; (*c*) he was under no compulsion to recognize a son's primogeniture,[2] until Deuteronomy [3] attempted to insist upon such a right for the first-born.

The 'family' consisted of more than the parents' immediate children. It could include married children and their offspring; and it included slaves. Slavery was a regular feature of Israelite society. Its nature was not wholly bad among the Israelites, though no doubt much depended, as usual, upon the character of the master. The relation of Abraham (the ideal Hebrew) [4] to his slave gives a favourable impression. A slave might inherit from his master,[5] and seems even to have had a right of inheritance in default of true heirs. He could acquire property and buy his freedom; [6] though he had no right to take his wife with him, if he had married her in his master's house; and so he might prefer to remain in slavery. Freedom, however, was not always easy to obtain.[7] Nevertheless, Hebrew law shows a decided tendency to humanity. In the Book of the Covenant [8] the killing or maiming of a slave is forbidden;[9] while periodic emancipation for a Hebrew slave is prescribed,[10] and this provision may have been practicable when such slaves were few; later it became a dead letter. It is probable that slaves in Israel were normally well treated, at any rate in the period at present under survey.

The 'family' also included the sojourner, i.e. the alien (he would usually be a Canaanite) resident in the house, and thus enjoying a sort of perpetual guest-right; he was a kind of inferior member of the household, normally a hireling. Israelite law required that he should be humanely treated; [11] and the system

1 Gen. 38[24] 42[37], Zech. 13[3].
2 Gen. 49[4], 1 Kings 1[13].
3 Deut. 21[17].
4 Gen. 24.
5 Gen. 15[2-3].
6 Lev. 25[49].
7 Jer. 34[8-11].
8 Exod. 21[20.26].
9 Also Deut. 23[15.16].
10 Exod. 21.[2].
11 Exod. 20[10] 22[21] 23[9].

was in fact a good way of incorporating aliens into Israel. A later law [1] makes definite provision for the naturalization of the sojourner by circumcision. It is worth noting that to the Israelites the alien was not, as such, a foe. With some aliens [2] they lived habitually at peace. They had declared a ban (*herem*) against the Canaanites, and a blood-feud with Amalek seems to have begun in the desert. But no universal *Jihad* (religious war) was preached; and even with the Canaanites tolerance was the normal relation in practice.

The Israelites brought the custom of blood-revenge [3] and the blood-feud [4] with them from nomadism, and its power lasted long. Their chief law was the *lex talionis*; [5] but the tendency to mitigate revenge by money compensation [6] and by the use of umpires was already at work. The punishment of the murderer was primarily the duty of the family, but, failing this, the family [7] of the murdered man would undertake it. In cases of unpremeditated homicide, sanctuary could be claimed at the local altar [8]; the 'cities of refuge' were probably a later development.

It is plain, however, that there was no real administrative unity in pre-monarchic Israel. The burden of Judges is that 'every man did that which was right in his own eyes'. Yet influences making for unity were not wholly absent. There was the common tradition of Mosaic Yahwism. Again, though distance weakened ties,[9] there was some recognition of the duty of mutual defence, and the Hebrew settlements could act together [10] and did not normally treat each other as foes. There were also the Judges, who acted as temporary chiefs in an emergency. These were local rather than national leaders, owing their position to their powers as seer or prophet (Deborah, Samuel), or to their success

[1] Exod. 12^{48}. [2] Judges 1^{16} 11^{15}. [3] Judges $8^{18.19}$.
[4] 2 Sam. 3^{27} 21^{1}. [5] Exod. 21^{23}; cf. Deut. 19^{21}.
[6] Deut. 22^{19}, Exod. 21^{22}. [7] 2 Sam. 14^{7}. [8] Exod. 21^{13}.
[9] Judges $5^{16.17.23}$. [10] Judges 19–21.

SETTLEMENT. Winnowing the corn

in war and their personal prosperity (Jephthah, Gideon); they possessed, it seems, no executive authority, but retained considerable influence even in peace. They represent a rudimentary effort after unity. It is clear, however, that the Israelites were too near to the nomadic life to take readily to the idea of monarchy; as is shown [1] by the history of Gideon, or by Jotham's parable, or by the tradition [2] of Samuel's reluctance to establish the kingship. The coming of monarchy was, nevertheless, inevitable, if Israel was ever to be a nation at all.[3] Public opinion, irresistible in a village, would necessarily be slow and ineffective in relations between different villages; and a central executive was obviously needed to establish a system of national justice.

[The book of Ruth and Judges xix–xxi (already referred to) should be read in this connexion. 2 Sam. xxi gives an example of the working of a blood-feud between the Gibeonites and the house of Saul.]

3. *The Achievement of Unity*

If a king was needed to 'judge' Israel, he was even more needed to 'go before' them and 'fight their battles'.[4] The Hebrew tribes entered into no position of independent sovereignty in Canaan. They were subject not only to Canaanite attacks,[5] but also to the raids of Bedawin and other tribes.[6] These, however, were only intermittent. The supremacy of the Philistines, on the other hand, must have been a real and a long-lived domination. In spite of occasional champions, the Hebrews remained their vassals. Saul was not more than a rebellious vassal; nor did David free himself and Israel from them, till after his capture of Jerusalem and the consolidation of a national power; then the Philistines seem to have collapsed before him and to vanish as an independent nationality.

These Philistines came originally by sea. At about the same time as the Hebrew invasion of Canaan began, the old Cretan

1 Judges 8^{23} 9^{7} f. 2 1 Sam. 8. 3 1 Sam. 8^{20}.
4 1 Sam. 8^{20}. 5 Judges 4^{2}. 6 Judges 6^{1}.

civilization was destroyed, and large bands of pirates began to make descents on Egypt, where they were repelled, and on the coast-lands of western Syria, where they managed to establish themselves; they soon worked down southwards and settled in the land which became known as the land of the Philistines; here they seem to have entirely renounced seafaring; and their power over Canaan was strong enough to cause the whole land to acquire from them the name of 'Palestine'. Their supremacy over the incoming Hebrews probably did much to establish some connexion between Israel and culture. We have already noted [1] that remains have been discovered which show the influence of Aegean civilization in the Palestine of this period. In particular, the Philistines were, apparently, the intermediaries by which the use of iron and of the Phoenician alphabet reached the Israelites. That iron was already used by the Canaanites we have seen; [2] but 1 Samuel 13^{19-22} shows that the Philistines established something like a monopoly of its use. After David had subjugated them, the use of iron becomes general in Israel, but that this was a novelty is proved by the fact that it was not employed [3] in the building of the Temple and is forbidden for the building of the earliest form of altar. So also it is at this period that the use of the Phoenician alphabet replaced the Babylonic cuneiform, which had been the script of Canaan for centuries, but the knowledge of which was now lost, as the growth of the Hittite power in the north cut off Canaan from communication with Babylon.

The Israelites, then, were Philistine vassals. But they have never been easy vassals to rule; and in this period they found leaders for their rebellions. Not priests, for at present there was no priestly caste. The Levites had no exclusive rights to the priesthood; they seem to have been few in number, and to have to travel in search of occupation; [4] they were regarded as specially

[1] Cap. I, § 2.
[2] Cap. I, § 2.
[3] 1 Kings 67, Exod. 20^{25}.
[4] Judges 17^{7-13}.

acceptable for cultus purposes;[1] possibly they had already begun to specialize in a knowledge of the traditional cultus and in medical exorcism. But the family and clan elders offered sacrifices; David appointed his own sons as priests;[2] and the priestly dynasty at Jerusalem was only founded by Zadok, who was appointed by Solomon[3] to replace Abiathar. The Judges, as such, were military and civil leaders; but some, at least,[4] were also renowned as seers and prophets. The seers of pre-monarchic times must have been of a type, of which Balaam is the best example,[5] i.e. medicine-men, who in oracular utterance declared the will of God. They were, in the main, solitaries.

But at the close of this period we become aware of the existence of prophetic societies or guilds, which lived and worked in bands, and used the method of ecstasy almost or quite exclusively. They could marry,[6] and were possibly distinguished by tattoo-marks and a tonsure.[7] Their origin is obscure; they may have been an imitation of a Canaanite institution, or may have originated in Yahwism; probably they arose round the local sanctuaries and high-places. Their methods represent a crude attempt to crystallize the general sensitiveness to the 'numinous', and were obviously capable of leading to something higher or something lower. They first appear in connexion with Saul's coronation,[8] and it is quite likely that they were the outcome or the inspiration of a religious-national movement against Philistine oppression. Certainly Samuel seems to have been connected with them, and he may have regulated their constitution; we find them established in Elijah's time,[9] and working in conjunction with him and with Elisha. It seems probable, therefore, that Samuel managed to capture these societies and used them to preach a holy war in the name of Yahweh. It is clear that he seized on

[1] Judges 17^{13}.
[2] 2 Sam. 8^{18}.
[3] 1 Kings $2^{27.35}$.
[4] Judges 5, 1 Sam. 2^{27} $9^{8.9}$.
[5] Num. $24^{3.4}$.
[6] 2 Kings 4^{1}.
[7] 1 Kings 20^{38}, 2 Kings 2^{23}.
[8] 1 Sam. 10^{1-13} 19^{18-24}.
[9] 2 Kings 2 $4^{1.38}$.

the desire of liberation to preach the need of a national unity, which could only be based on Yahwism, since Yahweh was specially a 'man of war'.[1] Samuel therefore established national unity on the basis of a Yahwist monarchy, as the only instrument for the attainment of national freedom.

This is Samuel's great achievement. We have seen that Yahweh was tending to become like the local *baalim*. But Samuel used the growing sense of national revolt against the Philistines to fix Yahwism as the official religion of the nation and the inspiration of national unity. Of course he did not succeed in making the monarchy the head of a pure Yahwism. Saul seems to have been little, if at all, above the popular religion.[2] David also treated the Ark with popular cultus,[3] possessed teraphim,[4] and surrendered the house of Saul to popular superstition ; [5] but he at any rate gave up the use of the ephod, honoured the Ark, and planned the Temple. Solomon was a modernist, who introduced foreign gods ; but he took over the Ark and established an imageless worship in the Temple. It is significant that names compounded with Baal vanish from Judah in his time. He followed Samuel and David in making Jerusalem the seat of the Yahweh idea. Israelite religion was still far from purification ; and even the great prophets, as we shall see, were by no means successful in their preaching. But at any rate the work of Samuel cleared the stage for the prophets. He gave an impetus to the higher development of Hebrew religion, and may be reckoned as the first great name since Moses in the history of Yahwism.

[Read Judges v (the Song of Deborah for a picture of Hebrew disunion. 1 Sam. iv, ix, x, xiii, xiv, xix describe the Philistine oppression, Samuel's dealings with Saul, and certain features in the early forms of prophecy. 2 Sam. vi tells the tale of David's bringing of the Ark into Zion.]

1 Exod. 15^{1} f. 2 1 Sam. 14^{18} $28^{6.7}$. 3 2 Sam. 6.
4 Cf. p. 30. 5 1 Sam. 19^{13} f., 2 Sam. 21.

III

The Period of the Monarchy

1. *Kingship in Israel*

The monarchical system grew quickly in Israel. Saul had been little more than a tribal leader, residing at his native Gibeah.[1] David is more like a king. He was perhaps the first to wear a crown. He founded a dynasty, established Jerusalem as the national capital, freed himself from the Philistines, and began to build up a centralized government. He also entered into relations with Tyre, which soon developed; with this event went the enlargement of his harem, and resulting quarrels within the royal palace owing to the conflicting ambitions of his sons. In Solomon we find the embodiment of more or less typical Oriental despotism.

The period of the monarchy is long and crowded with events. The kingdom is divided; constant changes of dynasty take place in the northern kingdom; the fortunes of the nation as a whole fluctuate considerably. Social custom and religious ideas develop; but, just as the law-book of Deuteronomy to some extent represents the ideal, rather than the facts, of social custom, so the religious teaching of the prophets is by no means decisive of popular religious practice. Both express the struggle of the higher elements in Israel, rather than the actual conditions of Israelite life and thought. The general features of the life of the period call therefore for careful analysis.

(1) A centralized government needs money; so we may begin by inquiring into the nature of the royal revenues. Saul had none. David's were derived mainly from his foreign conquests;[2] how enormous such a revenue might be is seen from the statement of the tribute which Mesha, King of Moab, paid to Ahab,[3] 'the wool of an hundred thousand lambs, and of an hundred thousand

[1] 1 Sam. 11[4]. [2] 2 Sam. 8[6.8.11 f.] 12[30]. [3] 2 Kings 3[4].

rams'. David seems [1] also to have intended to introduce a system of taxation, but the plan came to nothing. Solomon regularized taxation, and to that end divided the country into twelve districts,[2] probably to break up the old tribal feeling. We hear also in Amos 7^{1} of a tax on the latter or spring growth of grass, known as 'the king's mowings'; and a tithe was levied for the support of the monarch.[3] The royal revenue could also be augmented by confiscations.[4] The kings, moreover, possessed domains of their own,[5] and engaged in commerce and manufacture.[6] Many stamped jar-tops (stamped perhaps to guarantee the measure) have been discovered which bear the names of individual places, where perhaps royal potteries were established.[7] Solomon also used forced labour for his building operations;[8] and this was to a large extent responsible for the discontent which produced the disruption of the kingdom under Rehoboam. But the monarchy continued to levy taxes, both for its own support and, later, to raise the tribute demanded[9] by Assyria or by Egypt.[10] The later provisions in Deuteronomy ($17^{16.17}$) that the king should not multiply his horses or his harem were futile.[11] Samuel's forecast [12] of the expensiveness of monarchy proved to be just. The cost of it, falling on a land which possessed no mineral wealth, drained its agricultural resources; the farmer lived in perpetual fear of the royal tax-gatherer; and the taxes alone would be wholly insufficient. The need of revenue was met only by the development of commerce.

(2) Monarchy meant a court. We date from its establishment the multiplication of state officials. We hear of such people as the king's scribes, recorder, steward, tax-master, of a functionary

[1] 2 Sam. 24. [2] 1 Kings 4^{7} f. 9^{15}.
[3] 1 Sam. $8^{15.17}$. [4] 1 Kings 21^{15}.
[5] 1 Chron. 27^{25}, 2 Chron. 26^{10}. [6] 1 Kings 10^{28}. [7] 1 Chron. 4^{23}.
[8] 1 Kings 5^{13} 9^{22} 12 4. [9] 2 Kings 12^{18} 15^{19} 18^{14}, Isa. 33^{18}.
[10] 2 Kings 23^{35}. [11] 1 Kings 10^{28} 11^{1}. [12] 1 Sam. 8^{11-18}.

known as 'the king's friend', of the commander-in-chief.[1] The priests similarly[2] are royal officers. The Temple at Jerusalem was only the royal chapel, as that at Bethel was later the royal chapel of the northern kingdom; and the tithe for the upkeep of the Temple[3] was part of the taxes levied by the Crown. A new aristocracy grows up, which all but monopolizes all privilege, and which, as often in the East, brings with it oppression, corruption, and intrigue, so that the word 'palace' stands for inhumanity, violence, and callousness.[4]

(3) Monarchy, again, meant a standing army. To the Israelite war was a holy occupation,[5] and the time of war a kind of religious time, to be observed religiously by certain abstinences.[6] This was natural enough to a people who regarded Yahweh as the 'lord of hosts',[7] and who even believed that he led their battle-line.[8] Thus the ban (*herem*) on their enemies[9] was an act of obedient zeal for Yahweh. The conquered were 'devoted' to death,[10] or reduced to various degrees of servitude or dependence; and conquered places were utterly destroyed.[11] But during this period we can trace a tendency to mitigate the cruelty of war. Saul's sparing of a portion of the Amalekites is by no means an isolated instance. In Joshua 8^{2} 11^{14}, Deuteronomy 2^{35} we hear of the booty being saved. In 2 Samuel 8^{2} David spares a portion of the conquered Moabite army; while Deuteronomy 20^{19} objects to the destruction of the fruit trees of a conquered land, and Amos ($1^{3.11.13}$) reprobates ruthlessness in warfare. None the less, the thought of war as a religious duty still survived;[12] and

1 Cf. 1 Kings 4^{1-6}, 2 Kings 19^{2} $22^{3.12}$, Isa. 22^{15} 36^{3}, Jer. 36^{12}.
2 2 Sam. 8^{18}, 2 Kings 16^{10}, Amos 7^{10}.
3 Gen. 28^{22}, Amos 4^{4}.
4 Amos 6.
5 1 Sam. 17^{45} 25^{28}.
6 1 Sam. $21^{4.5}$.
7 Judges 5^{23}.
8 Exod. 15^{1-21} 23^{27}, Joshua 10^{11}.
9 Josh. 6^{17}, 1 Sam. 15^{3}, Deut. 2^{34}, 3^{6}.
10 Cf. 2 Kings 8^{12} 15^{16}, Amos 1^{13}, Hos. 10^{14}, Isa. 13^{16}, Deut. 13^{16} 20^{13-16}.
11 Judges 9^{45}, 2 Kings 3^{25}.
12 Judges 3^{2}.

a clear hint of the special reputation of the soldier is preserved in 2 Samuel 23. But the development of agriculture weakened the war instinct of the people, and it is noteworthy that David was regarded [1] as disqualified from building the Temple because he was a 'man of blood', and that Solomon's peaceful magnificence was reckoned the greatest age of Israel.

The Israelite army was originally a national host. Morally every one was obliged to serve,[2] and the exemptions allowed in Deuteronomy 20^{5-9} can hardly ever have been observed in practice. But with the coming of the monarchy the muster of the national army becomes a rare event, and a professional soldiery now arises.[3] Saul had made the beginning of a royal bodyguard.[4] David seems to have used a citizen army, but he also enlisted foreign mercenaries [5] and a guard of foreign soldiers was probably maintained throughout the times of the monarchy.[6] The commander-in-chief, e.g. Joab or Benaiah,[7] begins to be a person of importance. The weapons of war were chiefly the sling, the arrow, the sword, the spear, and the shield; helmet and greaves are added later. The use of war-wagons and of fortifications was learnt from the Canaanites. The introduction of the horse and the chariot by Solomon [8] was a distasteful innovation at the time,[9] but afterwards their use became common.[10]

(4) The centralization of government of course involved a more systematic administration of justice. In the previous period the village elders were the village judges, administering tribal custom with the sanction of public opinion. Beyond them, recourse in special cases could be had to a judge, prophet, seer,

1 1 Kings 5^{3}, 1 Chron. 22^{8}.

2 Num. 1.

3 1 Sam. 8^{12}, 2 Sam. 18^{1}.

4 1 Sam. 14^{52}.

5 2 Sam. 8^{18}.

6 2 Kings 11^{4}.

7 Amos 5^{3} may allude to a system of conscription; and Deut. 17^{16} suggests that Israelite soldiers served as mercenaries in Egypt.

8 1 Kings 9^{19} 10^{26}.

9 Isa. 27, Deut. 17^{16}.

10 Hos. 14^{3}, Isa. 30^{16} 31^{1}, Mic. 5^{10}.

or priest (such as Deborah or Samuel); but these had no executive power, and only such influence as their reputation gave them; and their pronouncements would be of an oracular nature. We may say, in fact, that there was no specifically secular law in Israel; the old connexion of religion and law, with its great exemplar in Moses, continued to hold good; and even the village elders were quasi-priestly personages. The same ideas persist under the monarchy. The local elders continue their functions;[1] but beyond them there is now a recognized right of appeal to the king, who seems to have been normally easy of access; diligence in doing justice in 'the gate' was a mark of a zealous king. Out of this custom there eventually developed a system of professional judges,[2] such as Jehoshaphat is said to have established in Judah.[3] But there is no doubt that, as the power of the priesthood grew, and especially after Deuteronomy had concentrated all sacred justice at Jerusalem, cases of all sorts tended to gravitate to the priests.[4] Deuteronomy, however, seems in two passages (17^{9} 19^{17}), where it combines 'the priests' with 'the judge that shall be in those days', to suggest the existence of a mixed court of priests and laymen, such as Jehoshaphat is recorded to have instituted at Jerusalem (2 Chronicles 19^{8}).

The original method of Israelite law was oral.[5] But written accusations and judgements were in use later.[6] The responsibility of witnesses was strongly emphasized.[7] Two witnesses at least were required in a capital charge; they were required to throw the first stones,[8] if the accused was condemned to be stoned; and false witness was liable[9] to severe punishment. The 'oath of Yahweh' was a method in regular use;[10] and a form of

1 Deut. 16^{18} 21^{19} 22^{15}.
2 Isa. 3^{2}, Mic. 7^{3}, Zeph. 3^{3}.
3 2 Chron. 19^{5}.
4 Exod. 22^{7-9}, Deut. 17^{8-13}.
5 Prov. 18^{17}.
6 Job 13^{26}, Isa. 10^{1}.
7 Deut. 17^{6}, Num. 35^{30}.
8 Deut. 17^{7}, Lev. 24^{14}.
9 Deut. $19^{18.19}$.
10 Exod. $22^{9.11}$, 1 Kings 8^{31}.

trial by ordeal seems to be meant in Numbers $5^{11\,f.}$, whilst the usage described in Deuteronomy $21^{1\,f.}$ in the case of an undetected murder is probably antique. The priest made use of the oracle, of the holy lot, and of Urim and Thummim to detect crime.[1] The punishments in vogue were death by communal stoning (Deuteronomy 17^{5} 21^{21}), by hanging or burning (Joshua 7^{25} 10^{26}, 2 Samuel 4^{12}), the latter being the specific punishment for a wife's unchastity (Leviticus 20^{14} 21^{9}, Genesis 38^{24}); scourging with not more than forty stripes (Deuteronomy 25^{3}); the prison or the pillory (Jeremiah 20^{2} 29^{26}, Job 13^{27} 33^{11}); and banishment (2 Samuel 13^{37}).

The tendency of this period is to a gradual modification of the savagery of the primitive law. The friendship of David and Jonathan (which figures so prominently in Israelite record) seems to have set an example which gave the death-blow to the family blood-feud. The law of *talion* was mitigated by the right of asylum.[2] The execution of punishment begins to be individual,[3] instead of involving the whole family; and a distinction begins to be drawn between voluntary and involuntary acts.[4] The duty of humanity is increasingly recognized. David's generosity to his adversaries made an impression on the Israelite mind, which shows in the tradition; and the book of Deuteronomy is full of exhortations to consideration[5] for the stranger, the widow, the fatherless, the Levite, on the ground that the divine character is merciful[6] as well as just. If law thus became more humane, it also became national in its scope. Thus the law of the manslayer is definitely applied[7] to all homicide within Israel; and the limitation, to the locality affected, of interest in the punishment of crime comes to an end. But the tendency to exclude non-Israel from

[1] Joshua 7^{16}, 1 Sam. 14^{41}, Exod. 22^{8}. Cf. p. 33.
[2] Exod. 21^{13}, Deut. 19^{2}.
[3] Deut. 24^{16}.
[4] Deut. 19^{5}.
[5] Cf. Deut. 14^{28} $16^{11.14}$ 24^{17} 26^{11} 27^{19}.
[6] Deut. 10^{18}.
[7] Deut. $19^{4.11}$, Num. 35^{24}.

the scope of Israelite justice still remains; later law to some extent outflanked this tendency by allowing non-Israelites to be circumcised. Again, though law had become more humane and more national, its administration certainly did not become more equitable under the monarchy. The prophets are ominously at one [1] in ceaseless protests against bribery, injustice, and respect of persons. But their denunciations and the definite prohibition of e.g. Exodus 23^8, do not seem to have been widely effective in ridding Israelite practice of the characteristics which curse Oriental justice in general.

(5) We have been considering the social conditions of monarchic Israel, in so far as they were directly affected by the system of monarchic administration. If we turn now to examine more generally the social life of the period, we may first note that this epoch witnesses the establishment of city-life in Israel. Not that any but a minority of the people at any time lived in cities. The village was still, and always remained, the foundation of Israelite society. They were always a nation of many villages and few cities; and, indeed, during this period, there grew up a large class of peaceful *fellahin*, whose lives were chequered only by foreign incursions and the fear of the tax-gatherer. Deuteronomy and Proverbs, for instance, are essentially countrymen's books; and the city-life of Israel must always be seen against the background of a great population of peasant agriculturists.[2] But the city, beginning as the head-quarters of the royal bodyguard, of the

[1] Cf. Isa. 1^{23} 5^{23}, Mic. 3^{11} 7^3, Zeph. 3^3, Prov. 17^{23}.

[2] Statistics as to the population of Palestine at any particular time can only be conjectural. If the figures of 2 Sam. 24^9 are at all correct, a total population of about 6,500,000 people would be indicated. This, it is said, is not more than ancient Palestine could then have supported. Assyrian texts of 700 B.C. claim over 200,000 captives in the southern mountains alone, excluding Jerusalem. At the present, the population of western Palestine is estimated at about 600,000. But, fully cultivated, the land would support ten times that number.

civil officers of the Crown, and of the craftsmen that collect in the neighbourhood of a court, becomes the dominant factor of Israelite society. The cities live, and to a large extent prey, on the country; and it is worth noting that the pre-exilic prophets in general have no good word to say for city-life in Israel. It is certain that the development of city-living gravely affected the old primacy of the family unit in the social polity of the people.

TRADE. A caravan

(6) As we have seen,[1] Israel before the kings had left trading to the Canaanites. But under the monarchy began a process of commercial development which was to write its mark deep on the character of the people, and which led in later Judaism to the custom that every Jewish father should teach his son a trade. Solomon and his successors sedulously fostered commercial relations. The exports consisted of wheat, oil, honey, spices, nuts, almonds; [2] while the schedule of Solomon's imports [3] mentions

[1] Cap. II, § 1.

[2] 1 Kings 5^{11}, Ezek. 27^{17}, Gen. 37^{25} 43^{11}.

[3] 1 Kings 10^{10-25}.

precious metals, precious stones, timber, ivory, horses, &c. The difference between the respective values prompts, and even necessitates, the supposition that he also levied tolls and duties [1] on the merchandise which entered or passed through his realm. He also started a commercial fleet; [2] but he had to use Phoenician sailors; [3] the Israelites have never been disposed to seafaring, and the fleet seems to have been but a short-lived experiment, Jehoshaphat's later attempt [4] to revive maritime enterprise being speedily wrecked at Ezion-geber. Solomon also settled foreigners in Jerusalem; and it was probably in this connexion and for their use that foreign gods and altars were established; this, according to the ideas of the time, would be no apostasy, though a later age reckoned it as such and so stigmatizes it in the record. We hear also that Ahab established a bazaar-street for Israelites in Damascus,[5] and of a similar street

[1] 1 Kings 10[15.28].
[2] 1 Kings 10[22].
[3] 1 Kings 9[27].
[4] 1 Kings 22[48].
[5] 1 Kings 20[34].

for Syrians in Samaria ; while contract-tablets, which have been unearthed at Gezer, reveal the existence of an Assyrian colony or garrison there in 650 B.C.

The use of coined money first began to be common in Israel during the monarchy. In the eighth century exchange seems to have been partly by barter and partly in money.[1] The standard coin is the silver shekel, but we do not know how far back its use must be taken to extend. It figures constantly in the records, even in those of patriarchal times,[2] but that may well be due to a natural anachronism on the part of the compilers of the history. There was no fixed ratio of its value, and this explains the prophets' constant reference to commercial dishonesty in financial dealings.[3] Possibly the temples acted as banks and treasuries.[4] The prohibition of usury in the law [5] would undoubtedly have hampered Israelite commerce, if it had been observed ; probably it was disregarded, and the prohibition in Deuteronomy (23^{20}) and Leviticus (25^{36}), which forbids only the taking of usury from a fellow Israelite, and looks like an attempt to modify a more general prohibition of all interest, is not likely to have been more successful.

(7) The development of commercial life naturally led to a great multiplication and differentiation of callings. We hear, from the records of the monarchy, of weavers, fullers, leather-workers, barbers, compounders of essences, bakers, cooks, &c. ; and the establishment in the great cities of special quarters for special trades is abundantly attested.[6] Commerce also had the effect of undermining the old simplicity of the agricultural life,[7] and led, with the increase of wealth, to the growth of a class of *nouveaux*

[1] Hos. 3^{2} ; cf. Gen. $20^{14.16}$.

[2] Cf. Gen. 23^{16}. It also appears in Judges 17^{10}, 1 Sam. 9^{8}, 2 Sam. 18^{12}, 2 Kings 7^{1}, Exod. 21^{32}, Jer. 32^{9}.

[3] Amos 8^{5}, Mic. 6^{10}, Deut. 25^{14}, Prov. 20^{10}.

[4] Judges 9^{4}.

[5] Exod. 22^{25}.

[6] Cf. Isa. 7^{3}, Jer. 37^{21}, Neh. 3^{32} 11^{35}, 1 Chron. 4^{14}.

[7] Hos. 12^{8}, Isa. 27^{7}.

riches and to a measure of rural depopulation. The increase of luxury is luridly depicted in the prophets ; [1] greater luxuriousness in clothes and ornaments,[2] and in food and drink, are specially mentioned. Drunkenness, in particular, seems [3] to have been very common ; and the Rechabites and Nazirites [4] may represent an organized protest against the vices of a civilization growing rank ; their importance was possibly greater than appears in the records ; their connexion with the prophetic movement is scarcely questionable. We may note also, as symptomatic, the frequent references to the existence of women who plied the harlot's trade.[5]

(8) In the train of increasing wealth came a growing sharpness of division between rich and poor. The idea that the land was for all still lasted in the people's minds, and indeed never quite vanished.[6] But during this period individual appropriation began,[7] though we do not know what methods it pursued. This led to capitalistic oppression, to corrupted justice,[8] of which even kings were not guiltless,[9] and to the perpetual enslavement of many citizens.[10] The poor were often held in contempt (thus 'poverty' and 'shame' are classed together in Proverbs 13^{18}) ; though oppression was condemned,[11] and almsgiving was regarded [12] as the typical form of righteousness. After the Exile 'the poor' became a sort of title of honour, as numbers of the Psalms illustrate. But it is beyond doubt that Israelite thought was inclined to regard wealth as the typical blessing,[13] though hatred for the method of its use is expressed [14] with significant frequency.

(9) Civilization in monarchical Israel grew, as so often in the East

1 Amos 6^{4} f., Isa. 22^{13}.
2 Isa. 3^{16} f.
3 1 Sam. 25^{36}, Isa. 5^{11} 28^{1}.
4 Jer. 35, Num. 6.
5 Isa. 23^{16}, Prov. 9^{13}.
6 Lev. 25^{25}.
7 Hos. 5^{10}, Isa. 5^{8}, Mic. 2^{2}, Deut. 19^{14}.
8 2 Kings 4^{1}, Amos 5^{11}, Isa. 5^{23}.
9 1 Kings 21, Ezek. 46^{18}.
10 Jer. $34^{9.11}$.
11 Prov. 14^{31} 17^{5} 22^{22}.
12 Prov. 19^{17} 22^{9}.
13 Cf. Prov. $3^{10.16}$ 10^{15} 18^{11} 19^{4} 22^{4}, Ps. 112^{3}, 1 Kings 3^{13}.
14 Cf. Jer. 5^{27} 17^{11}, Prov. 11^{26} 18^{23} $28^{8.11}$.

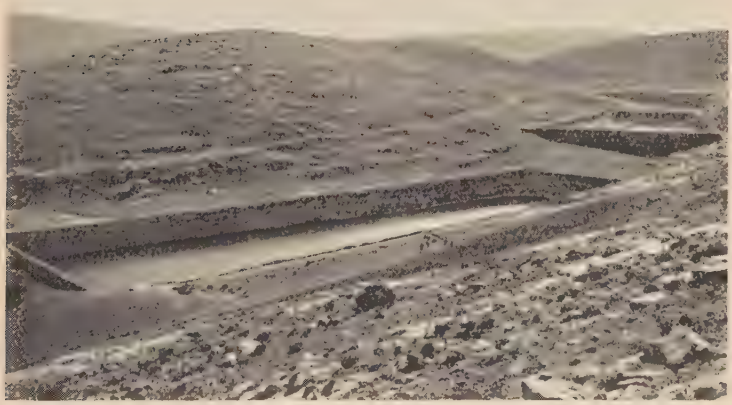
and elsewhere, hand-in-hand with moral deterioration. At the same time we must notice that it brought with it a real development of culture. Literature begins to be written. We hear of the production of historical books, such as the Acts of Solomon and of the various kings; of the books of prophets like Iddo, Gad, Shemaiah; of collections of poems such as the book of Jasher, of which poetry Deborah's Song (Judges 5), the fragment in Joshua $10^{12.13}$, and David's lament for Jonathan (2 Samuel $1^{18\,f.}$) are fine samples; we know of the reputation of David as a psalmist, and of Solomon as singer,[1] speaker of proverbs, and 'wise man'. In the other arts and in crafts Israel is indebted to foreign influences. She never did anything original nor produced anything of native excellence, save in the domains of religion and of literature. The monarchical period, as we all know, saw the nation drawn into the vortex of world-politics. Its foreign relations were at times that of peaceful intercourse, but more generally that of submission to alien suzerainty, and eventually of servitude. Its connexion with Tyre began with David; later[2] came that with Syria, Assyria, and Babylon. These relations which, as we shall see in our next section, exerted so baleful an influence on Israelite religion, were no less influential in the sphere of arts and crafts. In particular, we can note (*a*) a great development of architecture. Solomon stimulated this tendency, but he had to send to Tyre for his architects, as for his shipbuilders. The old Canaanite art of building brick walls and towers must by now have been lost; and the fortifications and castles[3] which were now erected were built massively in Phoenician style of large squared stones. The Temple, so far as we can reconstruct it, must have exhibited a mixture of foreign styles. We hear also

[1] 1 Kings 4^{30-33}.

[2] But probably much earlier than the Old Testament records; for the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser II depicts in one panel the offering of tribute to Assyria by Jehu.

[3] 1 Kings 9^{15}.

of building operations carried out by Rehoboam (2 Chronicles 11^5), and by Asa (1 Kings 15^{22}); but the Israelites were mostly content to rebuild or enlarge the old Canaanite cities; the only certainly new city of Israelite foundation is Samaria, built by Omri.[1] The use of reservoirs is mentioned several times;[2]



RESERVOIRS—the so-called Pools of Solomon

a specimen of a conduit has been excavated at Jerusalem, in the 'Siloah tunnel' of Hezekiah;[3] and the two arms of this, begun from opposite ends, meet in the middle by accident rather than by engineering skill,[4] though it is said that the difference of levels and direction in the two parts may be due to the fact that the workmen apparently followed the natural strata of the rock.

[1] 1 Kings 16^{24}, but cf. 1 Kings 22[39].

[2] 2 Sam. 2^{13} 4^{12}, 1 Kings 22^{38}. [3] 2 Kings 20^{20}, 2 Chron. 32^{30}, Ecclus. 48^{17}.

[4] See the description in Macalister, op. cit.

(*b*) The Israelite pottery of monarchic times is preserved in numerous remains. These similarly show the signs of foreign influence, and Greek and Cyprian wares appear in the ninth and eighth centuries. The native work displays no inventiveness; so far from being an advance on Canaanite productions, it rather becomes cruder and more debased. (*c*) Specimens of jewellery, amulets, ivory work, &c., from Egypt, or copied after Egyptian and other foreign models, are also preserved from this period. It is clear, too, that the precious metals were more extensively worked, as is attested by the mention of Jeroboam's bulls of gold [1] (though these were probably not works of art), and by the fittings of Solomon's temple, in which the art of the metal-worker,[2] and in particular the art of overlaying with gold leaf,[3] played so large a part.

The Golden Candlestick
From the Arch of Titus

This conspectus of the development of arts and crafts in monarchical Israel makes it clear that, while the period witnessed a rapid development of secular culture, this culture was, in general and in detail, an exotic and imported thing, owing everything to foreign influence, and content for the most part with the slavish imitation of foreign models. The simple fact is, that in this field Israel never learnt to do anything for herself or by herself, and exhibits not a spark of native genius or original talent. The amazing originality and greatness of the religious contribution of this nation to the history of the world is, if possible, an even more surprising phenomenon, when we realize that it is the pro-

[1] 1 Kings 12^{28}. [2] 1 Kings 7^{15} f. [3] 1 Kings 6^{20}, Exod. $25^{11.24}$ 39^{3}.

duction of a people which, in every other province of enlightenment, displays an almost complete sterility and slavishness.

[The Old Testament literature dealing with this period is extensive. We may exclude the books of Chronicles as being the later editing of the history from the priestly standpoint; they supply only occasional additions of genuinely historical information. The writings of the prophets and the book of Deuteronomy are best read in connexion with § 3 of this chapter. Perhaps the most illustrative passages referring to this section are 1 Sam. viii (a general summary of monarchic conditions); 1 Kings iv, v, ix, x (the reign of Solomon); id. xii (the revolt against Rehoboam); 2 Kings xi, xii (Athaliah and Jehoash), id. xvi, xviii, xix (the foreign relations of Ahaz and Hezekiah). To these may be added Amos vi, Hos. iv, Isa. iii, v, Jer. xxii, xxxiv, as specimens of the prophetic denunciation of social iniquity.]

2. *Popular Religion under the Monarchy*

The chief interest of the religious development under the monarchy lies of course in the prophetic movement. But we may fail to realize the true power and originality of that movement unless we place the prophets against the background of the popular religion of the time. The books of Kings give a deceptive impression. True, they do at times record about a king (e.g. Jehoshaphat) [1] that he did that which was right in the eyes of Yahweh, 'howbeit the high places were not taken away'. But, in general, they present the story as one of periodic lapses from pure religion into heathenism, and class the kings as good or bad according to their relation to the high places. This, it must be clearly realized, is the verdict of writers who, writing under the influence of the prophetic attack on the popular cultus and of the Deuteronomic condemnation of it, transfer these views as to the wickedness of such cultus back to the times of which they are writing. The plain fact is that no definite attempt to abolish the high places as wrong was made until the reign of Josiah (or possibly, though this is questioned, the reign of Hezekiah). An early prophet like

[1] 1 Kings 22 43.

Hosea [1] takes the existence of 'pillar, ephod, and teraphim' for granted; Elijah and Elisha raise no objection to the high places.[2] Prophecy began by claiming all worship for Yahweh, and declaring the moral principles involved in his worship. Its assault on the actual methods of worship came later.

We saw [3] that Samuel established Yahwism as the national cult, and so gave an impetus to the possibilities of the higher development of Israelite religion. After him, the succession of prophets did not fail; men like Gad, Nathan, Ahijah, &c., no doubt did a good deal of spade-work in the preservation of Samuel's principle of fidelity to Yahweh. But the blossoming-time of prophetic teaching still delayed to come; and meanwhile, to the popular mind, always slow to grasp any but the most obvious implications of theological principles, the practical difference was small. If they worshipped Yahweh, they still worshipped him with heathenish rites, and thought of Yahweh in much the same way as others thought of Baal or Chemosh or Moloch. The Canaanite cultus remained engrafted on Yahwism. The bull-worship of Yahweh in Bethel and Dan was maintained by kings and priests, and did not receive its death-blow till the destruction of Samaria. There are occasional references to the practices of witchcraft and sacred prostitution,[4] and numerous evidences of the continued use of images, pillars, and poles.[5] No voice was yet raised against this use, and no law forbade it. There was in fact hardly any law of Yahwist worship at all at present, and the earliest book of Hebrew history (JE. cf. Chapter III, § 3) is studious to justify the Israelite use of Canaanite shrines, by connecting them with events in the lives of the patriarchs, whilst it feels no scruple in ascribing the religious use of pillars to the patriarchs or to Moses.[6] A summary

[1] Hos. 3^4.

[2] For *ephod* cf. p. 42, note 4; for *teraphim*, p. 30; for *high place*, p. 23.

[3] Cap. II, § 3.

[4] Isa. 2^6 8^{19}, 1 Kings 14^{24}.

[5] Cf. 1 Kings 14^{23}, 2 Kings 13^6 18^4 $23^{6.15}$, Isa. 1^{29} 2^8.

[6] Gen. 35^{14}, Exod. 24^4.

description of the popular cultus is supplied in Micah $6^{6.7}$, Jeremiah $7^{9.10}$. The festivals were still agricultural, and were largely used for the purposes of enriching the priests at the various shrines and giving the people a religious reason for immoderate orgy.

The cultus, therefore, remained much the same as it had been in pre-monarchic times. But in the train of the foreign connexions which were established under the monarchy, foreign influences in religious practice began to flood the country. Solomon's importation of Egyptian and other gods [1] set the example. Ahab was a worshipper of the Sidonian Baal; [2] Ahaziah consulted the oracle of Baal-zebub of Ekron; [3] Athaliah established Baal-worship; [4] Ahaz figured [5] as a religious vassal of Assyria; and Amos [6] refers to a worship of the Mesopotamian star-gods. The fact was that, as relations with foreign countries developed, hospitality to foreign gods seemed natural; and when Assyria became virtual overlord of the land the Assyrian gods might even be deemed to have a right to the worship of Assyria's vassals.

The reforms of Hezekiah, whether they went so far as the abolition of the high places or not,[7] provoked a violent reaction under Manasseh his successor. Not content with reintroducing the old, Manasseh introduced new elements into the worship. For the first time polytheism found a place in the Temple itself.[8] He introduced sun-worship into its precincts, and established there a regular system of sacred prostitution.[9] From his time, also,

1 1 Kings 11^{1-8}.
2 1 Kings $16^{31.32}$.
3 2 Kings 1.
4 2 Kings 11^{18}.
5 2 Kings 16^{10}.
6 Amos 5^{26}.

7 The record says so (2 Kings 18^{4}). The statement is questioned on the ground that Josiah's reformation, which did, under the inspiration of Deuteronomy, remove the high places, would thus have been anticipated; and Isaiah's prophecies do not refer to any such abolition under Hezekiah. But it may be that Hezekiah did make some such attempt, and that the unpopularity of this attempt accounts for the tremendous reaction under Manasseh.

8 2 Kings 21^{1-7} $23^{5.11}$.
9 2 Kings 23^{7}.

probably dates the introduction of the cult of the Chaldean host of heaven,[1] and of the ritual of 'weeping for Tammuz'.[2] Finally, the practice of child-sacrifice seems to have received a great impetus from his example.[3] This custom may have already been in vogue in Israelite religion. We have seen [4] that it was a Canaanite usage. It is at any rate implied [5] in the law of Exodus $22^{29.30}$; and Micah seems to speak of it [6] as if it were normal. But that the practice now became general is indicated by the fact that, from now on, it is regularly noticed and denounced in Hebrew literature (Jeremiah 7^{31} 19^{5}, Deuteronomy 12^{31}, Ezekiel $20^{25.26}$).

It is clear, therefore, that Israel is now in danger of setting up a genuine pantheon. It is likely that the main power of foreign influences was felt rather in the cities, and especially in Jerusalem, than in the country districts, where the old debased Yahwism probably remained much as it was before. But, whether in city or in country, the practice of a vast and elaborate cultus is unanimously attested by the prophets; and one result of great importance, in view of subsequent history, is that the priests, especially at the important shrines, and most of all at Jerusalem, became very important and very rich. In this connexion we must beware of over-estimating the position of Solomon's temple at this particular time. Until the Deuteronomic reform set up Jerusalem as the first place of worship, without any second, the temple there was only one among a host of shrines throughout the country, though it naturally possessed a special prestige as being the royal chapel and the centre of the court worship; and as at the other shrines, so at the temple, the presence of cultus-objects was apparently [7] viewed without any repugnance.

[1] Jer. 7^{18}, Ezek. 8^{16}. [2] Ezek. 8^{14}.
[3] 2 Kings 21^{6}. [4] Cap. I, § 2 (*b*). [5] Cap. II, § 1.
[6] Mic. 6⁷, though the passage may not be by Micah himself.
[7] 2 Kings 18^{4} 21^{4}.

Again, we must beware of regarding the prophets as popular religious leaders, or of imagining that their ideas expressed the general sentiments of the people. They were rather religious revolutionaries; their following was always a minority; some (e.g. Jeremiah) were almost generally unpopular; and to a large extent they were in their own time failures. Isaiah sees the promise of Hezekiah's work utterly extinguished by Manasseh. Jeremiah lives to witness the reformation of Josiah leading to the religious degradation under Jehoiakim. To a late date, as excavations prove, the Israelites continued to use models of cows and plaques of Astarte as amulets. It was not till the publication of Deuteronomy that the prophetic teaching won any real success, and even then the victory was not immediately assured, nor (as we shall see in our next section) was it entirely equal to the idealistic dreams of the prophets.

Astarte.

Nevertheless, the prophets are the crucial figures in the religious development of Israel. Their mark is set on the whole Old Testament. The history was edited under the influence of their point of view; and the law was intended to embody their ideal and to purify religious worship in accordance with their theology. To regard them as protesting against irreligion is to do them a signal injustice. Their protest was against religion, against the debased and adulterated Yahwism of the nation; and herein lies their originality. For, though in form their appeal was to the old Mosaic Yahwism, and they built on that foundation, yet upon it they built a structure in which the old Mosaism was developed and transcended, and a theology, and an ethics based on that theology, were propounded which look no longer back to Moses but forward into the future, to Jesus

Christ and to the Christian Church. The broad history of this movement, and the main outlines of the prophetic teaching, must now engage our consideration.

[References to the popular religion are, of course, scattered throughout the books of Kings. The following chapters give a continuous account of its phases: 2 Kings xvii (the tale of the iniquities of the northern kingdom), xxi (the reaction under Manasseh); Isa. i, ii and Jer. xxiv may also be read in illustration.]

3. *The Prophetic Movement*

We have already [1] sketched the history of the prophetic guilds, and cited the extremely probable conjecture that Samuel was in some way connected with them, and may even have done something to organize their constitution. The history of prophecy after his time is at first obscure. We hear of names like Gad, Iddo, Shemaiah, Nathan, Ahijah, and can only suppose that they too may have been related to the guilds; for, when we emerge into fuller light in the history of Elijah and Elisha, we find such a relation existing beyond doubt in the case of Elisha at least. It is clear, however, that the ecstatic method of the guilds began to be outgrown by, at least, the greater men of the movement. Solomon's dreams in the sanctuary of Gibeon,[2] and Elisha's use of music to induce the prophetic mood,[3] are plainly relics of the old method. But the general characteristic of the greater prophets from Elijah onwards is the use of a natural method of spiritual sanity, which claims direct inspiration indeed, but discards the primitive quality of oracular pronouncement; while ecstasy, even if never wholly renounced, tends to subside into the use of symbolical actions, which, however indicative they may be of excitability, and however strange they may seem to modern minds, were yet conscious and deliberate efforts at symbolism, and made no pretence to be the product of divine 'possession'.

[1] Cap. II, § 3. [2] 1 Kings 3 5 f. [3] 2 Kings 3 15.

Thus Isaiah walked unclad and unshod,[1] like a prisoner of war, through Jerusalem, to warn the people of the impending fate of Egypt; and Jeremiah[2] carried a yoke on his shoulders, to show the necessity of submission to Babylon. Such actions recall their parentage in the ecstasies of the older prophets, but, as obviously, they are conceived in a totally different spirit.

Prophecy in Israel, therefore, seems to part into two streams. The ecstatic method was plainly capable of ministering to pretence, conscious or unintentional; and when prophecy became a profession the prophet was obviously exposed to the temptations to flatter the rich and to feed on the credulity of the poor. In the story of Balaam, Balak acts on the assumption that his sole problem is to find a fee big enough to purchase the prophet's services.[3] Amaziah seeks to silence Amos by assuring him that he will make no money by prophesying at Bethel.[4] Micah satirizes prophets who denounce those that do not pay them;[5] and references to 'hireling prophets' are frequent in the Old Testament. Professional prophecy acquired a bad name, and Amos expressly[6] disclaims the title of prophet or 'prophet's son' (i.e. one of a prophetic guild) for himself; though in another passage[7] he claims for prophets a real knowledge of Yahweh's secrets. The distinction between what the editors of Kings call the 'true' and the 'false' prophets now makes its appearance, the latter being represented as always opposing and often persecuting the former.[8] The difference between them may have been partly one of method; partly the distinction may have arisen between those whose prophecies were fulfilled and those whom the event belied; this is the test recommended in Deuteronomy

[1] Isa. 20. [2] Jer. 27^{2} 28^{10}.
[3] Num. $22^{7\text{-}17}$. [4] Amos 7^{12}. [5] Mic. 3^{5}.
[6] Amos 7^{14}. [7] Amos 3^{7}.
[8] 1 Kings 22, where false and true prophets alike prophesy in the name of Yahweh.

13^{1-3}. But, broadly speaking, we cannot doubt the existence of a general moral distinction between the two classes; on the one hand we have the practitioners of a conservative method, the spirit of which degenerates morally when the Philistine emergency, which had given to it a patriotic fervour, has been removed; on the other, we have those who appeal with moral enthusiasm to the national conscience, and, as they deepen their thoughts on the character of Yahweh, try to lead the people along the road of ethical and religious progressiveness.

The great age of prophecy is opened by Elijah and Elisha. Their work was simple, but epoch-making. They laid down, remorselessly and uncompromisingly, that Yahweh of Israel and Baal of Tyre are not to be worshipped in friendly alliance.[1] They did not apply their principles in the realm of cultus. In the history of prophecy they rank as primitives, and they have no word of opposition for the bull-worship or the high places. Their views are in substance a recurrence to the old Mosaic idea of the jealousy of Yahweh. But, coming when they did, and in the conditions of popular religion at the time, their words are like a breath of fresh air from a more simple life. They are primitives, also, in their ethical ideas. Thus, though Elijah rebukes kingly tyranny,[2] as exercised against Naboth, his massacre of the priests of Baal savours of ancient blood-thirstiness; and Elisha, though he is active in works of mercy, and includes even the Syrian Naaman in his benevolence,[3] shows no repulsion at the barbarities of Jehu.[4] These two men, however, inaugurate the era of prophetic progress; and it is most noteworthy that Elisha, by his claim that Yahweh's power extends even over Damascus,[5] lays a very large stone in the great edifice of Jewish monotheism.

The prophetic movement, however, did not content itself

[1] 1 Kings 18^{21}. [2] 1 Kings 21. [3] 2 Kings 5.
[4] 2 Kings 9, 10. [5] 2 Kings 8^{7-13}.

with oral prophecy only. Connected in some way with it, and probably inspired by the teaching of Elijah and Elisha, is the production of the oldest book of Hebrew history which we possess, viz. that section, now embedded in the Hexateuch (i.e. the first six books of the Bible), to which the symbol JE has been given by Old Testament scholars. It can only be reconstructed by inference, but the general lines of its composition are so clear that the reconstruction is generally accepted as correct.[1] It consists of two books, one which consistently uses the name Yahweh and so is called J or the Jahvist document, and one which uses the name *elohim* (= lord) up to Exodus 3^{15}, where the revelation of the name Yahweh to Moses is recorded; after that point the differentiation of this document (called E or the Elohist document) from J is more conjectural, and can only be made by noting the presence of other characteristics which showed themselves in the earlier chapters. These two books, it is agreed, were produced between 850 and 750 B.C., and were soon united; for our purpose the distinction between them is immaterial. It is certain that they, or at least some of the materials contained in them, were known to Amos and Hosea, and that they reflect the spirit of those higher religious ideas which were at work in Israel during the ninth and eighth centuries, and which found open expression in the teaching of Elijah and Elisha.

It is a matter of conjecture where these books were produced. They seem to be the work of groups, rather than the homogeneous production of single writers. Probably the prophetic guilds, or similar societies of men, connected with the sanctuaries, were in some sort communities of learning. It may be from them that

[1] Addis, *Documents of the Hexateuch*, vol. i, prints this document, so reconstructed, as a continuous narrative. To read it thus consecutively is the best way of realizing its character, and of confirming confidence in the critical methods which have been used in disentangling it from the rest of the Hexateuch.

the earlier collections of songs and stories, and the books of the earlier prophets, to which reference has already been made,[1] originated; and these documents are but a development of the same activity. These groups, we must suppose, now set themselves to collect both written records and oral traditions, and to weave them into a continuous narrative of early Hebrew history down to the death of Joshua. The two documents, when united, are found to contain a Creation and Flood story, the tales of the Fall, Cain and Abel, the tower of Babel, Abraham and Lot, Sodom and Gomorrah, Abraham and Isaac, Isaac and Rebekah, Esau and Jacob, Jacob and Laban, Joseph and his brethren, the birth and call of Moses, the Exodus, the law-giving at Sinai, part of the wanderings in the desert, and of the conquest and settlement in Canaan.[2] It is worth noting that practically all the most humanly dramatic of the early stories are contained in this collection; and its literary merits, even in a translation, are unmistakable. Within these documents, also, are included the book of the Covenant (Exodus 20^{22}-23^{33} and $34^{14\text{-}26}$) and the Decalogue (Exodus $20^{1\text{-}21}$), which form the earliest extant collection of Hebrew law; this embodies undoubtedly older elements, some possibly of a high antiquity; but others are probably new; and the whole is to a great extent saturated in the spirit of the earlier prophetic teaching. Indeed, it has been conjectured that the Decalogue, in its present form, contains certain features which may have been suggested by Elijah's war on the Baals and by his defence of Naboth.

The value of this book as history is considerable, though it is a baffling problem to disentangle the genuinely antique from its

[1] Cap. III, § 1 *ad fin.*

[2] The chief sections (excluding small passages and isolated verses which belong to later documents) are: Gen. 2^{4}–6^{8}, 7^{1}–13^{18}, 15^{2}–16^{14}, 18^{1}–22^{24}, 24^{1}–35^{8}, 37^{2}–50^{26}; Exod. 1^{8}–6^{1}, 7^{14}–15^{26}, 17^{1}–24^{16}, 32^{1}–34^{28}; Num. 10^{29}–12^{16}, 13^{17}–14^{45}, $16^{12\text{-}34}$, 20^{1}–25^{5}, $32^{1\text{-}42}$; Deut. 31^{14}–34^{10}; Joshua 2^{1}–11^{13}, 17^{1}–19^{49}, $24^{1\text{-}34}$.

later setting. But the book was written less to teach history than to preach religion. It is a priceless witness of the standpoint of the early prophetic movement which certainly inspired it. Thus we may note that its religious principle is that of a full 'monolatry'. It is not theoretically monotheistic; it is too primitive to be that. But it declares the sole right of Yahweh to Hebrew worship. Its conception of Yahweh is anthropomorphic, though more so in J than in E, where Yahweh appears or works rather in dreams or by his angel than in visible form, as in J. Ethically it is also primitive in its views of Yahweh's character. But the road to a higher morality is begun in such passages as Genesis 3, where, through an old piece of folklore,[1] a grand analysis of the workings of conscience is provided, Genesis $18^{16\text{-}33}$, where the Judge of all the earth is invoked to show mercy to Sodom and Gomorrah, since his duty is to 'do right', or Exodus 34^{6}, with its great proclamation of Yahweh as a god of compassion, truth, and mercy, as well as of just punishment; or in the Book of the Covenant, in which, among provisions for stern and bloody justice, are found exhortations to consideration for slaves, strangers, widows, and orphans, and prohibitions of injustice and oppression. Finally, we may note that, while very little direction as to religious ritual is given, some attempt is made to purify the traditional rites, and the intention of 'Yahwizing' the use of the old shrines is unmistakable.

The work of Elijah and Elisha and the spirit of JE are chiefly important in that, by beginning the work of moralizing Yahwism, they made room for the entrance of the canonical prophets on the scene. The development thus begun is carried on by Amos (760 B.C.), Hosea (750), Isaiah (760–700), Micah (a younger contemporary of Isaiah), Zephaniah (625), Jeremiah (627–580), Nahum (610).[2] This is the golden age of religious teaching in

[1] For the explanation of this term cf. note at end of Introduction.

[2] The date of Habakkuk is so difficult to fix that it is better to omit his name in a general sketch like this.

Israel. The prophets hold different positions; their spiritual levels are not always equally high; and their watchwords to some extent vary. Thus Amos lays his chief emphasis on the righteousness and justice of Yahweh; he asserts Yahweh's rule over all nations, and declares his abhorrence of sacrifice if divorced from social righteousness. Hosea protests with equal force against a worship unconnected with morality; but his chief thought is of the love and mercy of Yahweh, who cares for Israel, though he afflicts her for her sins. Isaiah is full of a tremendous sense of the awful purity of a Yahweh who governs the world-order in righteousness, but acknowledges a special relation to Israel and especially to Jerusalem. Micah's thought is mainly similar to Isaiah's. Zephaniah develops the idea of the 'day of Yahweh' as a day of judgement on all nations, and so carries on the moralization of eschatology[1] which Amos had already begun. Jeremiah is the prophet of inner religion, of a personal individual relation and responsibility to Yahweh; he is much more nearly a monotheist, and would even welcome repentant heathen, while he treats ritual, even at Jerusalem, as secondary. Nahum exults in Yahweh's doom on Nineveh. But beneath all these differences lies a single process of the development of religious thought, and a substantially single point of view may be discovered, which enables us to treat the prophets as a body of teachers delivering a coherent body of teaching. In general, it is easy to see that these prophets carry on and develop the protest against the baalization of Yahwism. They reprobate a cultus which is charged with no moral implications,[2] and are particularly strong in insistence on principles of social ethics. They turn a popular cultus-god into one of moral justice, and

[1] *Eschatology*, the doctrine of the final state of things, in which the present order of human existence is to be ended.

[2] Indeed they seem sometimes to push their antagonism so far as almost to regard cultus as a thing which is *essentially* bad. But this vehemence is

a national god into one of world-history. When we treat their message more analytically, we may perhaps best appreciate its bearing if we consider it under two main heads, viz. (A) their theological axioms, (B) their ethical principles.

A. The prophetic theology asserts two main positions: (1) that Yahweh is Israel's god, specially interested in the destinies of Israel. This idea is a commonplace in the prophetic writings, as of course it was by now a commonplace in popular thought.[1] The most famous enunciation of it is contained in Isaiah's defiance of Sennacherib and his declaration of the inviolability of Zion;[2] and the vindication of his trust by the withdrawal of the Assyrian army gave the city that prominent place in popular affection which henceforth made its name the rallying-cry of national patriotism and national religion alike; more and more it came to be regarded as the earthly home of Yahweh. It was out of this thought of Yahweh's peculiar relation to Israel that Messianic prophecy originated; for its fundamental belief was that Yahweh's covenant with her ensured Israel's eventual survival and victory.

The idea that Yahweh was Israel's god, so stated, was obviously exposed to a very disturbing *riposte*, which is voiced by Rabshakeh,[3] and the thought of which quivers in Hezekiah's prayer.[4] 'If Yahweh is Israel's god, how is it that Israel is so unprosperous? Is it not clear that he has deserted his people?' The natural inference is drawn in cruder form by the people, in their dispute with Jeremiah,[5] that since Yahwism does not 'pay', they will try heathenism, which does. But the prophets will have none of this. With magnificent faith they insist[6] that, if the nation perish, this is Yahweh's punishment for its sins. Yahweh is still sole ruler;

due to the exigencies of their special circumstances. Cultus is, in fact, a valuable help to the religious attitude of wonder at the processes of Nature and to the sense of communion with the Divine. On this point cf. von Hügel, *The Mystical Element in Religion*, or Jevons, *The Idea of God* (Cambridge Manuals).

[1] It is found, for instance, in the early Hebrew poems placed in Balaam's mouth.

[2] Isa. 36, 37.

[3] Isa. 36^{18-20}.

[4] Isa. 37^{16-20}.

[5] Jer. $44^{17.18}$.

[6] Jer. 44^{20-23}.

and the popular claim for favour at his hands is met by a terrific reiteration of the ideas of national guilt and national punishment. Repentance, not apostasy, is the only remedy.

Again, the thought of Yahweh's special tie with Israel clearly tended to carry with it the inference that he is less interested in other nations. This inference the prophets do not explicitly draw; but it cannot be said that they do not imply it. Their oracles against foreign countries are almost consistently denunciations of divine doom, relieved only by occasional flashes of a more generous spirit.[1] A universalism which sees all nations as equally dear to God, and equally sought by Him to do His purposes, is exceedingly rare in Hebrew prophecy. The (post-exilic) book of Jonah is a magnificent, but somewhat lonely, exception.[2] Even in such a passage as Isaiah 49^{6} (in the chapters of that exilic or post-exilic prophet whose prophecies were subsequently incorporated into the book of 'Isaiah') the redeemed heathen are regarded as spiritual dependants of Zion. Israel, we may say, never attained to a complete universalism; and the germs of the later Pharisaism, which treated the heathen as scum in God's eyes, are contained in this strand of the prophetic teaching.

(2) But, if Yahweh is specially Israel's god, he is the only God. This message, of which the first note is sounded by Elijah and Elisha, recurs in prophet after prophet, until the anonymous prophet, whom we may call Deutero-Isaiah ('Isaiah' 40–55) dissolves idolatry with scathing ridicule and blistering laughter.[3] Here, indeed, lay the seed of such a complete universalism as St. Paul proclaimed at Athens. But we never find, in the Hebrew prophets, St. Paul's idea of a One God, whom all nations have been 'ignorantly' worshipping under various names, whom they have been 'feeling after' to find. The prophetic idea is less liberal.

[1] Isa. $23^{17.18}$.

[2] But the splendid passage in Isaiah 19^{18-25} (which may be by Isaiah, though some date it later) deserves to be set side by side with it.

[3] Isa. 40^{18} f. 44 f.

Its thought is, not that there is one God, whom we worship as Yahweh, but that there is Yahweh, who is the one and only God; the gods of the heathen are nothing, or at best are demons. The monotheism of the prophets is thus imperfect. To them Yahweh is indeed the lord of all; but he is universal Ruler rather than universal Father. The conception of a universal Father is scarcely hinted at, until it found its full expression in Jesus Christ. The prophetic teaching is but preparatory; it could still lend itself, and was used, to promote an attitude of spiritual contempt towards the religious ideas of other nations. But we must not fail to notice what an immense advance the prophets make from the old Israelite conception of a purely national god, to whom Israel belongs in much the same sense as that in which other nations belong to their respective gods. The originality of the prophetic outlook is astonishing, if we remember the soil in which it arose.

B. The ethical teaching of the prophets registers as notable an advance as does their theology. Their ethical views begin, not from the human, but from the divine, side. Their principles of social morality are inferences from their ideas of Yahweh's character. To the early Hebrews Yahweh had been essentially the war-lord of the nation; his characteristics were those of a deified Semitic chief; he cared for, provided for, heard, and demanded the obedience of, his subjects. In accordance with the moral standards of the people and time this sovereignty was by no means free from a sovereign barbarity on occasion, and from a sovereign capriciousness and unaccountableness in his actions. The blessing of Jael,[1] or the command to extirpate the Amalekites,[2] exemplify this conception. Elijah's blood-thirstiness [3] and Jehu's wholesale massacre of Ahab's descendants were true examples of zeal for Yahweh.[4] The pestilence inflicted on the Beth-shemites and the destruction of Uzzah [5] were warnings of the god's 'numinous' caprice in exacting reverence. It is idle to deny that

1 Judges 5^{24}. 2 1 Sam. $15^{2.3}$. 3 1 Kings 18^{40}.
4 2 Kings 10^{16}. 5 1 Sam. 6^{19}, 2 Sam. 6^{7}.

the belief in the vindictiveness of Yahweh was never quite outgrown by Israel. It is true that Hosea condemns [1] the actions of Jehu, which a previous age had approved; but Hosea is a man of noticeably tender spirit. The old fierce ring still sounds in many prophetic passages (e.g. Amos 7^{17}, Jeremiah 18^{23}). It lasts on in Nahum's imprecations on Nineveh, in Obadiah's on Edom, in Ezekiel's on foreign powers,[2] and in the imprecatory psalms.[3]

Again, early thought regarded Yahweh as the god of the nation, far more than of the individual. The nation filled the stage of men's thoughts, and therefore, no less, of Yahweh's. This outlook fostered, in the first place, the materialistic idea that Yahweh's favour must show itself in national prosperity; and in the second place it led to the inference that national service was the supreme virtue, however immoral in themselves (to our eyes) might be the actions which it prompted. In fact, actions which served Yahweh's nation must necessarily be in accordance with Yahweh's will, and so were good; therefore Jael is blessed for her murder of Sisera, and Saul condemned for his mercy to Agag. Righteousness was obedience to the declared will of Yahweh, and the tenor of his will was conceived in accordance with the morals of the age, and as conducing to national advantage.

In the prophets, though the older ideas are not entirely discarded, a new ethical note begins to be heard. (1) When they proclaim a Yahweh of righteousness they import a new meaning into the term which directly exalts the value of moral conduct. They are unmeasured in their denunciations of social sin, and insistent in emphasis on moral guilt. Yahweh, they declare, requires a morally righteous nation; and no national prerogative may be claimed to save a sinful Israel from his punishment,[4] from the day of his judgement, at which all nations, and not least Israel, will be sifted and dealt with.[5] They teach no longer that what is nationally good is right, but that what is

1 Hos. 1^{4}.
2 Ezek. 38, 39.
3 Ps. 109, $137^{8.9}$.
4 Amos $3^{1.2}$.
5 Amos 5^{18}, Zeph. 1^{14}.

right is nationally good;[1] 'righteousness exalteth a nation.'[2] This reversal of the terms of the proposition is a change of 'Copernican' moment in its influence on religious ethics.

The prophets of the eighth century, however, do not free themselves from the old religious nationalism; Isaiah bases his defiance of Assyria on his conviction that Yahweh is so bound to Israel by his covenant that he cannot entirely destroy her; if she be punished, yet at least a remnant must be restored.[3] But in this faith the prophets find the seed of a new idea which now makes its appearance, the idea of the love of Yahweh. It is worth while to note the spiritual process which led to this development. The conception of moral righteousness had produced the sense of national sin; 'by the law sin came'; and the burden of that sense necessitated belief in the divine lovingness; otherwise the burden became one of despair.

(2) The thought of a Yahweh of love was of course not entirely new in Israel. But in earlier teaching Yahweh's love had been viewed as the outcome of his jealousy for his honour. Its quality was that of Sultanic care rather than fatherly affection; it had more pride than heart in it. We find hardly an approach to the feeling that Yahweh loves because he is by nature loving. But this conviction now appears full-fledged. We find it, as might have been expected, in the tender Hosea[4] and in the human Jeremiah.[5] But Isaiah expresses it almost as clearly.[6] The ground is prepared for the beautiful praise of Yahweh's loving-kindness which we find in a post-exilic prophet (Trito-Isaiah = 'Isaiah' 56–66).[7] In the thought of Yahweh's love lies the germ of individualism; Yahweh loves not the nation only, but the individual; and so in Jeremiah[8] we find the assertion of individual sin and individual punishment; and this thought, afterwards

[1] Isa. 1^{11-17}. [2] Prov. 14^{34}, Isa. 11^{1-9}. [3] Isa. 6^{13} 7^{3}.

[4] Hos. 2^{14} 11^{1}. [5] Jer. 2^{2} 31^{3}. [6] Isa. 57. [7] Isa. 63^{7} f.

[8] Jer. $31^{29.30}$, though it is questioned whether the passage is by Jeremiah himself.

systematized and to some extent made mechanical in Ezekiel,[1] comes to its full flower in the wonderful individualism of many of the Psalms. We may note, also, that as Yahweh's love is thought of as individual, so it begins to be thought of as more sympathetic than lordly, more universal than particularistic. Passages in Deutero-Isaiah illustrate the former quality (e.g. Isaiah $40^{1.2}$ and the description of the 'Suffering Servant' of Yahweh, especially Isaiah $52^{13\,f.}$), while the most splendid exemplification of the latter tendency is found in the book of Jonah. At the same time it must be owned that these two applications of the thought of Yahweh's love were never explicitly or fully made by the pre-exilic prophets, nor did they ever establish themselves as axioms of Jewish thought; it was left to Christianity in this, as in so many other respects, to carry on the highest tendencies of the prophetic teaching. The Hebrew prophets, on the whole, did not go beyond the thought of a God who requires moral righteousness as a duty from men, of a God who is loving, but of a God whose justice is most characteristically inflexible, whose universality is compatible with an inequality in His affections, and who is so far from man that any idea of a suffering God is inconceivable. Man's ultimate relation to Him is to be the sense of sin, and not the confidence of free 'access' to a Father who is, in Himself, Love.

That the pre-exilic prophets were in their own times leaders of a minority, and were failures as popular teachers, has been already stated.[2] It is, in fact, not till after the Exile that the effects of their theological and ethical precepts can be properly appraised; but one very important outcome of the prophetic movement must now be considered, viz. the publication of the book of Deuteronomy. The reforms of Hezekiah, inspired or influenced by the preaching of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah, were, as might be expected, thoroughly unpopular with the conservative mass of Israelite farmers and citizens, and led to the

[1] Ezek. 18, but the stress in Jeremiah is on individual religion, in Ezekiel on individual responsibility.

[2] Cap. III, § 2 *ad fin.*

extreme reaction of Manasseh's reign, as noted in our previous section. Under Manasseh the voice of prophecy was silenced; but in this compulsory silence prophetic circles set to work to embody the prophetic teaching in a book which should apply this teaching to a wholesale reformation of the religious worship of the nation. This book, written perhaps in Manasseh's reign or shortly after, was the core of our present Deuteronomy.[1] It was produced and made public when Josiah's accession [2] once more unloosed prophetic speech; and Jeremiah, at least at the outset of his career, devoted himself to a ministry which took the book for its manual. This book sets out to be a complete text-book of theocratic government, and its importance in the religious development of Israel can hardly be over-estimated. Its provisions are not in every detail new; but its spirit is. It is extraordinarily diffuse and verbose, and abounds in repetitions; but its general trend is quite clear:

(1) It crystallizes all the higher theology of the prophets into a formula: 'the Lord our God is one Lord.' [3] It proclaims the oneness and universality of Yahweh, and bases its entire system on this principle. Thus it follows that,

(2) since Yahweh is alone, therefore there must only be one place of worship. One God, One Shrine. The old baalizing of popular Yahwism is abolished. There must be no more pillars, no more poles, no more sacred prostitution.[4] The feasts are still three in number, that of Unleavened Bread with the Passover, that of Weeks, and that of Tabernacles; but their agricultural significance is in process of being shed,[5] in favour of their spiritual character. The very wearing of amulets is Yahwized, and we find [6]

[1] Deut. 4^{45}–26^{19}, containing a Decalogue, exhortations to loyalty to Yahweh, a declaration of his choice of Israel, and laws as to worship, the priesthood and its upkeep, the administration of justice, the conduct of war, and marriage. Deut. $28^{1\text{-}68}$ is a section of promises and threats.

[2] 2 Kings 22. [3] Deut. 6^{4}. [4] Deut. 7^{5} $12^{2.3}$ $16^{21.22}$ $23^{17.18}$.

[5] Deut. 16. [6] Deut. 6^{8} 11^{18}.

(though the words as they stand are possibly only figurative) in the command to 'bind these words upon your hand and between your eyes' the origin of that later Jewish custom by which, interpreting the words literally, strict Jews wore leather cases on forehead and left arm, containing certain passages of scripture inscribed on parchment (the Greek term for these is 'phylacteries' = protections, i.e. amulets). In particular, however, Deuteronomy emphasizes repeatedly the necessity of centralizing all worship at Jerusalem. The Temple now becomes the only Jewish shrine. This development was probably furthered by that idea of the inviolability of Jerusalem which, as we have seen, enunciated by Isaiah, seemed to have been so signally vindicated in his time. It must have remained a favourite thought in the school of Isaiah's disciples, and was now followed up by Deuteronomy and erected into a cardinal principle of the worship of Yahweh.

(3) One God, One Shrine, therefore, manifestly, also One Priesthood. We have seen that, in earlier times, priestly functions were by no means exclusively confined to the Levites.[1] We have seen[2] also that, in the exuberance of the cultus of monarchic times, the priests, especially at the bigger shrines, were becoming very rich and important. Deuteronomy now hands over all priestly functions to the Levites, ascribing the provision to Moses,[3] and thus seals to one caste (recruited by fictitious adoption, no doubt, as well as by authentic descent) the reversion of the whole of these privileges. The abolition of the local shrines meant the dispossession of all the priests who had ministered there; for these Deuteronomy attempts[4] to provide, by a rota-system of priestly duties in the only shrine left, viz. the Temple at Jerusalem. But the vested interests of the priests at Jerusalem were too strong to permit this partition of their work and of their emoluments;[5] and the consequence is that 'the Levite' (i.e. these dispossessed priests) has to be commended to the charity of the people.[6]

[1] Cap. II, § 3. [2] Cap. III, § 2. [3] Deut. 10^{8}.
[4] Deut. 18^{1-8}. [5] 2 Kings 23^{9}. [6] Deut. 14^{29}.

Deuteronomy is in every respect an epoch-making book. Its immediate effect is seen in the nature of Josiah's reforms.[1] But that effect was then short-lived, and under Josiah's successors the nation relapsed once more to admit heathen gods, though it seems that the worship at the Temple itself remained pure, and no return of Manasseh's excesses took place. But the influence of the book lies more in the tendencies which it started or to which it gave an impetus than in the effectiveness of its detailed provisions, some at least of which were always a dead letter. Thus (1) we can regard it as the fulfilment of prophetic religion. It succeeds in doing that which Hezekiah had attempted and failed to do, viz. to supply Yahwism with a form of its own, entirely distinct from the ancestral cultus of Canaan, which Yahwism had so far had to use. (2) The prophetic religion is fulfilled in the priests, and the antagonism of prophet and priest is ended. Deuteronomy is a priestly law, drafted under prophetic inspiration.

In consequence, the prophetic idealism is to some extent sterilized, or at least formalized, and it may be that Jeremiah came to see this danger,[2] and became less fervent in his allegiance to the Deuteronomic ritual. It is true, of course, that no prophetic religion had ever existed, in the sense of a religion embodied in institutional practice, and that Deuteronomy was the first attempt at such an embodiment of prophetism. It is true, also, that the prophetic religion could never be more than a homiletic thing until it had found an appropriate form of worship in which to express itself. Yet it must be said that, if the book crystallized some of the highest elements in the prophetic teaching, it also emphasized some of the weaker elements, and by its very nature tended to shift the stress from religious ideals to religious practices. In exalting God far above man, it liberated Judaism from the old anthropomorphism ; in so doing, it ran, perhaps inevitably, the risk of seeming to place God far off. So also it is scarcely doubtful that the book signals the approach of the two great

[1] 2 Kings 23. [2] Jer. 8[7.8].

dangers which were eventually to beset Judaism, dangers one of which must beset all institutional religion, while the other always besets any religion which is based on historic acts of revelation ;[1] it made religion a clerical affair, and so ran the risk of making it external ; and it made religion the affair of a book, and so paved the way for legalism. The written law which had existed before, in the Book of the Covenant, had scarcely touched on ritual, and seems in any case to have been more a manual for priestly judges than for popular guidance. But Deuteronomy was a code, to the obedience of which the people had solemnly pledged themselves. It was, in fact, the first book to be ranked as ' Holy Scripture ' ; and this position brought with it all the peril which always attaches to a religion of a book.

Nevertheless, if we can clearly discern in Deuteronomy a presage of possible deterioration which later Judaism only too tragically fulfilled, we are bound to confess that in itself, the Deuteronomic cultus is extraordinarily pure, lofty, and inspiring, and that its embodiment of the prophetic ideals in an institutional form probably saved Judaism through the Exile, and preserved, out of the prophets' dreams, perhaps as much as the national religion of the future could incorporate.

The general results of the prophetic movement, formularized as it was in Deuteronomy, will be considered hereafter. But one or two details of its effect may conveniently be noted at this point. (1) Law becomes more humanitarian. Some instances of this tendency have already been cited.[2] To these we may add that Deuteronomy [3] prohibits clan-revenge entirely, thus summing up a whole development by which this ancient custom had already been modified in practice ; and the book, in contrast to earlier views (e.g. Exodus 20^5), declares [4] that while God's grace goes on to successive generations, His wrath is but to the sinner himself.

[1] Dangers which in fact always threaten Christianity no less than they threatened Judaism.

Cap. III, § 1. [3] Deut. 24^{16}. [4] Deut. 7^9.

So, too, it develops the thought of the duty of kindness to the poor and the dependant. This duty, already enjoined in the Book of the Covenant,[1] is much enlarged in Deuteronomy, and is repeatedly insisted on.[2] This tendency is carried still farther in the later legislation of Leviticus ; [3] and the praise of mercy and almsgiving is a noble feature of Jewish law.

(2) The influence of prophetic teaching on the national marriage-customs can be traced less definitely ; but that it did modify those customs is hardly doubtful. We have seen that in early Israel polygamy was the theory and bigamy the not unusual practice.[4] The whole system emphasized the irresponsibility of the husband.[5] The giving of the bride-price to her father (a trace of marriage by capture seems to survive in Judges 21), the permission to use a female slave as a concubine,[6] the non-possession of inheritance-rights by daughters, the melancholy position of widows,[7] who are taken over as part of the property,[8] all this writes the system down as one of male despotism. The man could divorce his wife for any cause, the wife could not divorce her husband. An adulterous wife was stoned, a husband was free to commit adultery with impunity, save with another man's wife, in which case he injured him, and both partners in the adultery were put to death. It is small wonder that we read so often of harlotry and pre-nuptial unchastity. The woman was but a chattel in her husband's possession. There can be little doubt that the prophetic teaching tended to influence these

1 Exod. 22^{22} 23^{11}.

2 Cf. Deut. 14^{28} 15^{1} f. (though the seven-yearly release was never acted on) $15^{7.12}$ 16^{11} $24^{6.12.14.17.19}$.

3 Cf. Lev. 19^{9} 23^{22} 25 (but the 'year of jubilee' was never observed, and remained a priestly dream, which was incontestably impracticable).

4 Cap. II, § 2. 5 Gen. 34^{12}, Exod. 22^{16}, 1 Sam. 18^{25}. 6 Exod. 21^{8}.

7 This is constantly referred to in the prophets, and the widow is one of the people constantly recommended to charity.

8 2 Sam. 16^{21}, 1 Kings 2^{21}.

customs in the direction of a more equal morality. Thus Deuteronomy, though it still retains death as the punishment for an unfaithful wife,[1] no longer treats the woman as a chattel,[2] and attempts [3] to discourage the capricious exercise of the man's right to divorce. Later custom relieved some of the hardships of widowhood by allowing widows to marry again,[4] and childless widows to return to their original homes,[5] while it expressly granted rights of inheritance to daughters.[6] In particular, though the process of development is hidden, it is practically certain that monogamy became the ideal of the spiritually elect of Israel; it is hinted in Genesis 2^{24}, and clearly implied in the example [7] of Hosea's faithfulness to his sinful wife, which he presents as the type of Yahweh's fidelity to Israel; and the idea of Yahweh as Israel's husband must have been powerful in the same direction. Certainly after the Exile we hear no more approbation, or even tacit permission, of bigamy or polygamy, and Jewish family-life has held in subsequent ages an honourable reputation for purity.

Hebrew prophecy is a stupendous phenomenon. The religious history of no other nation exhibits anything like the roll of the canonical prophets. Indeed, if we except Christianity, itself the heir of the prophets, no single religious movement in history has ever exerted such an influence on the history of the world's higher religion as that which Hebrew prophecy has wielded. As regards Israel in particular, the prophets stand, as it were, at the 'waters-meet' of its social and religious development. Henceforth the course of that development is, not equably, but persistently, in the direction of an ever more definite monotheism, of an ever more purified cultus, of an ever-increasing humanity of social custom. Deuteronomy founds Judaism; from now we can speak of 'Jews', and no longer of 'Hebrews' or 'Israelites'. The nation

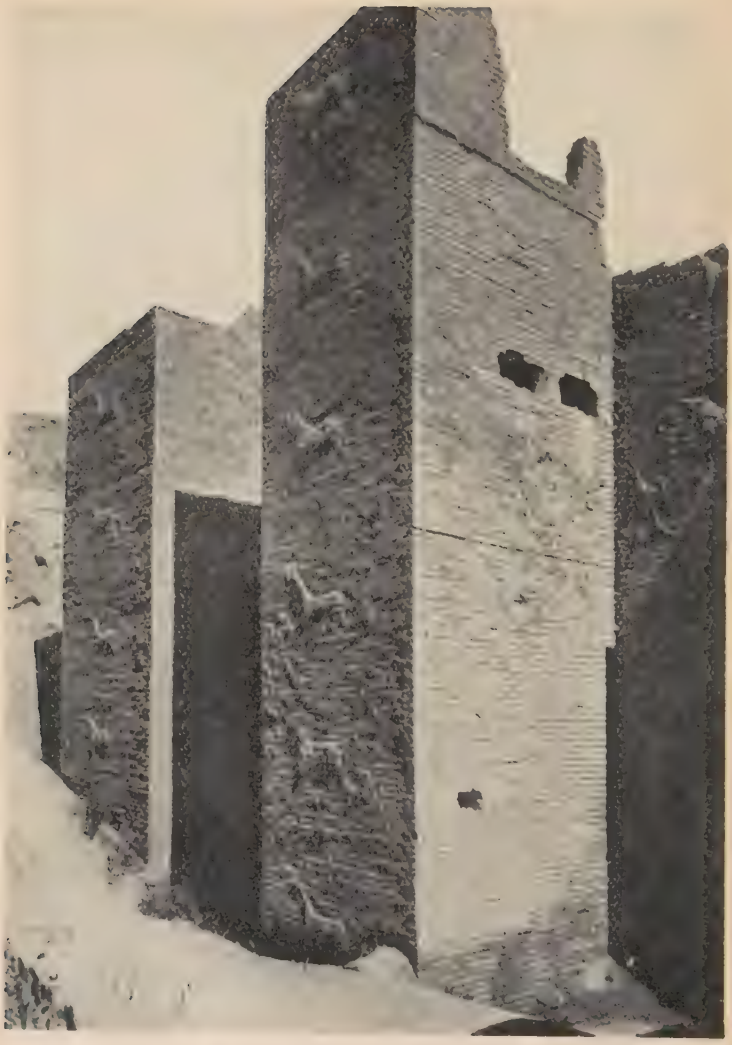
1 Deut. 22^{22}. Cf. Lev. 20^{10}.
2 Deut. $5^{18.21}$.
3 Deut. 24^{1}.
4 Ruth 1 9.
5 Gen. 38^{11}, Lev. 22^{13}, Ruth 1^{8}.
6 Num. 36.
7 Hos. 2.

is no longer primitive, and its religion is ready to be a religion for civilized mankind.

[The following is a selection of passages specially illustrative of this section 1 Kings xiii gives some glimpse of the condition of prophecy before Elijah. 1 Kings xvii–xix, xxi, xxii, 2 Kings i–vi, viii–x, describe the age of Elijah and

Worship of the BABYLONIAN SUN-GOD

Elisha. 2 Kings xviii, xix, xxii, xxiii tell the story of Hezekiah's and Josiah's reforms. In the considerable literature of pre-exilic prophecy, perhaps the most typical chapters are Amos iii, Hos. ii, iii, xi, Isa. vi–ix, xxxvi, xxxvii, Jer. v, xxxi, xliv. In the book of Deuteronomy these chapters may be selected: vi (fidelity to Yahweh), xv (the seven-year release), xvi (the festivals), xvii (priests and king), xviii (the Levites). The prophetic movement is dealt with in such books as Robertson-Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*; Th. Robinson, *Prophecy and Prophets in Ancient Israel*; Skinner, *Prophecy and Religion*; Gordon, *The Prophets of the Old Testament*; Buttenwieser, *The Prophets of Israel*.]



THE ISHTAR GATE, BABYLON, through which the Jews were led captive

IV

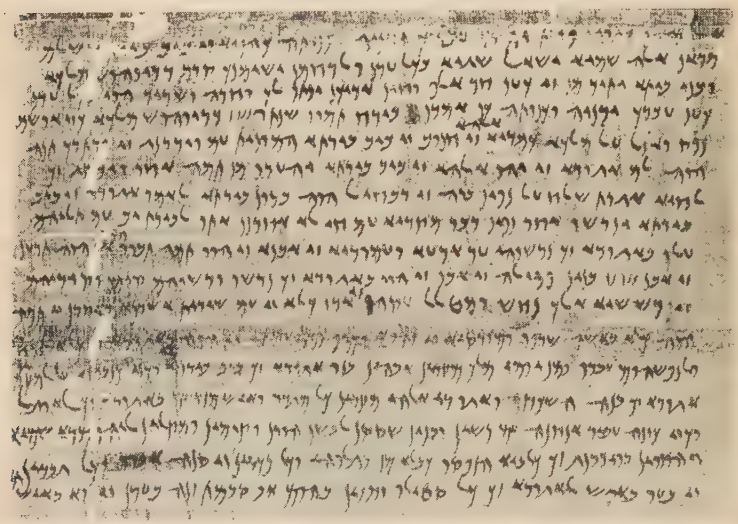
The Exile

The period of the Exile, short as it was, is extraordinarily important in the history of Israel. It is the formative era of Judaism. The Exile watered the seeds sown previously, and the fruits are seen after the Return. We must note, however, that, while officially the Exile lasted only fifty years, actually and in its influence on Palestine its duration was much longer. Many of the Jews, though remaining entirely loyal to the national religion, never returned at all from Babylon; and the influence of the Babylonian Jews on those in Palestine is powerful for at least 100 years after the Return under Zerubbabel.

In fact, the Exile witnesses the beginning of the Jewish Dispersion. Of course, Jews had emigrated to other countries before now. The position of Palestine on the caravan routes rendered national isolation increasingly impossible; and Jewish emigration must have begun as soon as commerce became general. We have already noticed Ahab's provision[1] for the establishment in Damascus of a trading-quarter for Jews; and the commercial adventurousness thus indicated may go back to David and Solomon. These kings cannot have been the only merchants of their time in Israel. But such ventures would be of individual concern. The Dispersion of the Jews in large sections begins, with the settlers in Babylon and Egypt, after Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of Jerusalem; and the influence of these Jews on the home-land is great and continuous. From Babylon first proceeded those tendencies of thought and belief which Ezra and Nehemiah came to Jerusalem to propagate by personal effort. The Jewish colonies in Egypt, which eventually became so numerous, also began during the Exile. That these Jews in

[1] 1 Kings 20^{34}.

Egypt were tempted to infidelity is disclosed in Jeremiah ;[1] but the papyri make it plain that they remained in the main faithful to Judaism. They apparently modified the Deuteronomic law of divorce so far as to allow a wife to divorce her husband. We know, too, that a Jewish temple with an altar for sacrifice



AN ARAMAIC PAPYRUS FROM ELEPHANTINE, containing evidence of a Jewish Temple

existed at Elephantine before 525 B.C. It was probably built after the Temple at Jerusalem was destroyed (586 B.C.) ; but it was still in use in 408 B.C., when it had to be rebuilt. But, though the Egyptian Jews may thus have allowed themselves to take some liberties with strict Jewish regulations,[2] they seem in general to have been zealous for orthodoxy.

[1] Jer. 44^{8-17}.

[2] In 153 B.C., when Jonathan Maccabaeus became high-priest at Jerusalem,

The existence of the Dispersion is henceforth a matter of very real moment in Judaism. The Jews are no longer of one country only; and not only did the dispersed Jews in time develop a more liberal attitude towards Jewish rites and a more philosophic treatment of Jewish ideas, but they were a medium through which foreign influence reached Palestine; whilst by their existence in alien lands, and later by the translation of the Old Testament into Greek, they became a medium by which Judaism reached the world outside. They were, in fact, intermediaries between Jew and Gentile, and insensibly mitigated the isolation in which Judaism was soon disposed to enclose itself.

These developments, however, mostly showed themselves at a later date, and are mentioned here only to illustrate the importance of the Dispersion to Palestinian Judaism. We may now return to notice that the position of the exiled Jews in Babylon was not wholly unfavourable, especially after the death of Nebuchadnezzar. Of course, their national independence was gone, and large numbers were set as slaves to forced labour on Nebuchadnezzar's great public works, and perhaps were absorbed into the slave-population around and were largely lost to Judaism. But, as a whole, they were neither set apart in military prisons nor in agricultural colonies. Many settled down and acquired wealth, slaves, political influence, and learning, as is proved both by Jeremiah's letter to the captives in Babylon [1] and by the tradition of Daniel's position at the Babylonian court.[2] In particular, the Exile, by bringing them into the heart of the busy trading activity of Mesopotamia, and into touch with the financial methods of Babylonian banking, did very much to develop the

Onias, a representative of the correct (i.e. the Zadokite) line, who had fled to Egypt, erected another Jewish temple at Leontopolis, which continued till A.D. 70. This, it is clear, was an action due to personal ambition and the pride of Zadokite descent.

[1] Jer. 29^{5}. Cf. Zech. 6^{10}.

[2] Dan. 2^{49}.

commercial instinct in the exiles. Many renounced the idea of returning to Palestine. That some, perhaps many, of these entirely apostatized from Judaism is certain. Deutero-Isaiah [1] shows plainly that the course of the true Yahwists in Babylon was a troubled one, and voices the feeling of revolt against the heathen empire which such men nourished.[2] But many still remained loyal to their national religion; and they seem to have lived as a more or less coherent community, with their own elders as their headmen; [3] so that mutual encouragement to loyalty was not unattainable.

The Exile is the period in which the religion of Judaism crystallizes. In particular, the separation of their religion from their country, and the consequent loss of so much opportunity for cultus, caused the exiles to attach special importance to that which they could still practise. From this epoch, therefore, dates that extreme emphasis [4] on the Sabbath and on Circumcision which made them the distinguishing badge of Judaism to the whole world, and that extreme carefulness of observance which henceforth characterizes Jewish piety.

When we reflect on it, we must confess to astonishment at the strength and persistence with which the hope of return lived in Jewish hearts. Such a repatriation of a deported nation had never been known before; no reason for the Jewish hope can be assigned, save an invincible assurance of Yahweh's faithfulness to his covenant with Israel. Not every Jew was equal to the faith required for hope. But we find that from the first the religious leaders of the exiles encouraged them to the faith, and took the supreme risk of fostering this hope. The *locus classicus* of such encouragement is Ezekiel's [5] proclamation of the possibility of a national resurrection, in his vision of the valley of dry bones.

[1] Isa. 41^{11} 49^{7}.
[2] Isa. 47.
[3] Jer. 29^{1}, Ezek. 8^{1} 14^{1} 20^{1}.
[4] Ezek. $20^{12.20}$ 31^{18}.
[5] Ezek. 37.

So encouraged, the Jewish leaders began to busy themselves with the planning of religious rituals for future use in their own land. The prophetic message of national guilt was at last accepted; the Exile burnt into them the conviction of unfaithfulness to Yahweh; and the thought of sin and of the need for atonement became dominant in Jewish religion.

The most representative religious leader of the exilic period is Ezekiel. Much of his book is but dull reading; he is in many ways less congenial to the modern religious spirit than are the pre-exilic prophets. But his position in the prophetic succession is extremely interesting. One reason for the comparative lack of sympathy with which we read him is that his literary method is artificial. His visions are constructed symbolism, and give no impression of being actual pictures seen in spiritual 'clairvoyance'; he clearly presages the later vaguenesses of apocalyptic imagery, which are so misty and unsatisfying to modern thought. His tone, again, is in large measure anticipatory of that Jewish formalism and ritualism which is so unattractive to modern minds. His interest is very much engaged in the embodiment of religion in cultus; his prophetic message is encased in a machinery which seems to us sometimes to creak rather heavily. It would, however, be unjust to deny to him the possession of a measure of the old prophetic fire and mysticism. The opening chapters of his book,[1] in which he describes his commission, his polemic against idolatry, with its great proclamation of the necessity of personal righteousness,[2] his assertion of the need of a new heart and a new spirit,[3] are in direct lineage from the spirit of Jeremiah; in him, also, Jeremiah's individualism is completed, and even exaggerated,[4] until righteousness and wickedness seem almost to become affairs of the momentary act. So, again, his view of history[5] as the record of God at work, his zeal for the honour of Yahweh,[6] his

[1] Ezek. 2, 3. [2] Ezek. 14. [3] Ezek. 36^{26} f.
[4] Ezek. 18, 33. [5] Ezek. 31. [6] Ezek. 36^{22}.

emphasis on the centrality of holiness,[1] his denunciation of social sin and of self-interested 'shepherds',[2] are worthy of being set side by side with Isaiah's idealism. But the distinctive peculiarity of Ezekiel's position is that he completes that reconciliation of prophet and priest which Deuteronomy established, and supplies the bridge by which the still largely prophetic Deuteronomy led on to the entirely priestly code of post-exilic times. His most characteristic sections, in this respect, are chapters 40–48, in which he plans a rebuilt Temple, and the cultus for use within it. In these chapters we see clearly what his ideal is; it is that of a nation which has become a church, based on the sense of sins and on the need of forgiveness through priestly mediation. This ideal is also that of the Law of Holiness (Leviticus 17–26, sometimes called H); and there is little doubt that this law was somewhat later than Ezekiel's writings, and reflects his influence. Whether it was actually written during the Exile or soon after, we cannot say; it was subsequently incorporated bodily in the Priestly Code (P), of which we shall hear more in our next chapter. But the most characteristic monument of the Exile, in relation to the later development of Judaism, is that law and the section of Ezekiel which it to a great extent follows.

A very different tone is found in the writings of that anonymous prophet to whom chapters 40–55 of the roll of 'Isaiah' are due (Deutero-Isaiah). He must have lived at the end of the Exile, and may have been a younger contemporary of Ezekiel. He is a more purely prophetic spirit, and is more idealistic and less concerned with matters of cultus than was Ezekiel. Writing[3] when the advent of Cyrus had excited expectation in the

[1] Ezek. 1. [2] Ezek. 33, 34.

[3] Isa. 41ff., but many scholars now hold that these chapters were produced in Palestine, soon after the Return, and that the reference to Cyrus is the gloss of a later scribe, who misunderstood in this sense the prophet's forecast of a Deliverer.

eastern world, he seizes on this event as the promised dawn of Jewish restoration. He is thus the prophet of comfort. Judah has drunk the full cup of her punishment; healing is now at hand. Repentance and hope are the watchwords of his message. His faith is based on the old conviction of Yahweh's choice of Israel, and of Yahweh's faithfulness to his covenant with her; the prophet is a complete monotheist of the Jewish type, and sees Cyrus as the chosen agent of Yahweh,[1] executing Yahweh's punishment on Babylon and sent to execute Yahweh's mercy on Israel. To this comfort, however, he attaches also the thought of Israel's duty to be Yahweh's messenger to the heathen.[2] He is the great evangelical prophet of the Old Testament, and directly presages the spirit of the later book of Jonah, that 'most Christian book in the Old Testament'. Israel's missionary duty he holds also to be her right, in virtue of her sufferings. These sufferings are, in fact, her patent of nobility in Yahweh's sight, and the guarantee of her success as Yahweh's Servant. Whether this prophet's picture of the Suffering Servant of Yahweh be that of a real or imaginary individual, of the nation personified or of the nation idealized, or of the faithful portion of the nation personified or idealized, it is hard to say; we are presented less with a picture than with a series of dissolving views (Isaiah 41^{8-20} $42^{1-7\ 18-25}$ 49^{1-13} 50^{4-11} 52^{13}–53^{12}). But in any case the prophet's main message is as magnificent as it is clear. He draws the figure of one who is the ideal Prophet and is to be the ideal King, speaking to and ruling all mankind, but who is also the ideal Priest, ideal in that he is both Priest and Victim, offering himself for his people, and thus making a sacrifice which, because it is voluntary and self-offered, is to avail for the common regeneration. Prophecy in Israel never reached a higher flight than in this conception; it finds its best successor in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and its only real fulfilment in Jesus Christ.

[1] Isa. 45^{1-4}.

[2] Isa. $42^{1.6}$ $45^{6.14-15}$.

The Exile marks the end of idolatry and the triumph of Yahwism. But we must note that on one side this Yahwism which triumphs has become a priestly religion. Legalism is beginning. Piety is becoming observance. The age of priestly dominance is at hand. This element in exilic Judaism largely monopolizes the literary activity which occupied the exiles. We have seen [1] that some such activity had already begun before the Exile, and had showed itself in the compilation of songs and stories, in the production of JE and in the writing of Deuteronomy. Records had also begun to be kept, both in connexion with the Court, and, with a different motive, at the sanctuaries and in prophetic circles. But the method of propagating thought and knowledge was still largely oral. The canonical prophets were not originally men of the pen, and references to written oracles are rare in their works.[2] Jeremiah had certainly entrusted some of his messages to writing ; [3] but Ezekiel is the first consistently literary prophet, and much of his book obviously saw the light first as literature. In the Exile literary work became more general. Deuteronomy, and the Law as a whole, were taken up for study, and began to be re-edited. The Deuteronomic school (i.e. the circle which made a speciality of Deuteronomic study) is responsible for that introduction and epilogue which were added to the old core of the book ; [4] and, no doubt, it began the process of development which ultimately produced the Priestly code. The ancient history, too, Judges, Samuel, and Kings (which the Jewish Canon significantly reckons as ' the early prophets '), was redacted and glossed in the Deuteronomic spirit, which makes the high places the test-circumstance in the distinction between true and false religion.

On the other hand, the Exile also saw the appearance of those quietist coteries, the circles of the ' quiet in the land ', as the Psalms call them, who set themselves, in more mystical mood, to

[1] Cap. III, § 3.

[2] Hos. 8^{12}, Isa. 8^{16}.

[3] Jer. 36.

[4] Deut. 1^{1}–4^{44}, 27^{1-26}, 28^{69}–31^{14}.

fulfil Isaiah's prophecy of 'the Remnant', and to qualify themselves to become a better seed for a revived nation. Of these circles we know of necessity very little; but it is a very attractive suggestion that they made the teaching about the Servant of Yahweh and his triumph their central idea. That a fervent spirituality found its best home in their midst is hardly questionable.

The way in which these two different, though not necessarily opposite, tendencies work themselves out is one of the chief points of interest in the study of post-exilic Judaism. We shall note that, though the first eventually became the dominant element, the second never entirely died out of Israel; substantially, the first found its fulfilment in Pharisaic Judaism, and the second in Christianity.

[In the long book of Ezekiel the most representative selection perhaps consists of chapters i–iii (the prophet's call and commission), x (his vision), xiv (the need of personal righteousness), xviii, xxxiii (individualism), xxxiv (oracle against the shepherds), xxxvii (the valley of dry bones). In chapters xl–xlviii the most readable and typical passages are xliii 1–12, xliv 1–16. In Deutero-Isaiah, every one of the chapters xl–lv should be read, for their literary beauty, their religious depth, and their interest as representative of the prophet's thought. Psalm cxxxvii is famous for the glimpse which it gives of Israel's life in exile.]

V

The Returned Jews

1. *The Priestly State*

The epoch before us stretches from 536 B.C. to the opening of the Christian era. During its course the national fortunes fluctuate very much. A great deal of the history is obscure. Features sometimes appear in one period, the preparation for which in previous periods is hidden from us. Our analysis may best begin by studying the conditions of the returned Jews, as it were, in isolation; then we will pass on to consider their relations with the

On the coast between Mount Carmel and Acre

outside world, and the way in which these relations affected them; we can conclude by an examination of the religious ideas and tendencies which were at work among the Jews during this epoch, and so complete our survey of the influences by which the nation was moulded into the form which it presents in the pages of the New Testament.

Very few Jews followed Zerubbabel back to Palestine.[1] The majority of the reviving nation consisted of refugees returning from Egypt, and of those who had never quitted the country at all. For a long time they formed a very small state, inhabiting Jerusalem and its environs; in Ezra[2] we find that a message summoning the whole population is calculated to bring them all into the city within three days. The lot of this settlement was not very fortunate. Pressing difficulties, both external and internal, had to be grappled with. Neither Sargon nor Nebuchadnezzar had entirely depopulated Palestine. Many of the peasantry had been left in both north and south. In the north they were absorbed by the new settlers whom the King of Assyria sent in.[3] In the south they were at the mercy of the neighbouring tribes, the Nabataean Arabs on the east and south-east, on the south the Idumaeans, whom the Arabs had by now evicted from their ancestral home in Edom, on the north the semi-Jewish Samaritans and the heathen Ituraeans. These external difficulties, no doubt, did something to squeeze the returning Jews into some sort of national cohesion. But their internal difficulties were also formidable. Jerusalem had probably never been quite deserted; and trouble was bound to ensue, if those who had remained in the city during the Exile now found themselves in danger of being ejected from the possessions which they had occupied, in order to allow the old owners, returning from Babylon or from Egypt, to regain them. The

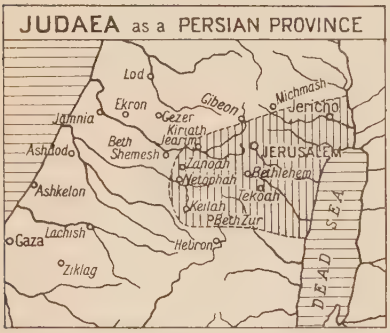
[1] The lists in Ezra 2 and Nehemiah 7 are probably based on a census of the Jews taken long after the Return and even after Nehemiah's time.

[2] Ezra 10^{8}, Neh. 3.

[3] 2 Kings 17^{24} f.

country also was, so Haggai[1] makes plain, afflicted by droughts, which increased the general stress of the time.

In this position religious leading was not denied to the Jews. Haggai and Zechariah,[2] possessed by the statesmanlike conviction that no national life could be established without a religious centre of unity, encouraged them to rebuild the Temple, drew for them pictures[3] of the glory of the city and temple which were to arise, and laboured to keep alive in them the flame of a desire for worship and righteousness. To this period, also, belong the last chapters (56–66) of the book of Isaiah. Whether these chapters are by the author of chapters 40–55, who must then be supposed to have lived on after the Return,[4] or are by a different author (who would be called Trito-Isaiah), their date must be shortly after the Return.[5] Their main message is of Yahweh's care and loving-kindness for Israel; this justifies the promise of her restoration and prosperity. The nation is to be rebuilt as a people of priests, serving Yahweh in peace and in righteousness, having renounced the old sins that caused their punishment. The chapters pay very little attention to questions of



[1] Hag. 1^{10} 2^{17}.

[2] The author of Zechariah 1–8. The rest of the book of 'Zechariah' is from a later date.

[3] Hag. 2^{6}, Zech. 1^{16}.

[4] If indeed he is not wholly a post-exilic prophet.

[5] Or perhaps about Nehemiah's time. It is a matter of doubt whether these chapters can all be from one author.

ritual; but the duty of Sabbath observance is strongly emphasized.[1] A liberal attitude is taken with regard to those (like the eunuch and the sojourner) who desire to join themselves to the Jewish congregation. Some of the chapters are among the most beautiful in the Old Testament; and, though their tone is possibly somewhat different from that in chapters 40–55, the ideals of Deutero-Isaiah certainly live on in this section.

But, among the Jews at large, the difficulties of their situation chilled the religious impulse under which they had returned. Their experience was one of bitter disappointment. Zerubbabel, their prince of David's line, seems to have soon died; no reinforcements for the new state came from Babylon; no hope of national independence could possibly be entertained. The people consequently deteriorated. The building of the city was intermitted. Social divisions sprang up, and oppression of the poor returned. There was widespread unfaithfulness to the religious ideals which the prophetic teachers had set up before them. Some sacrificed to heathen gods; many married heathen wives; the worship of Yahweh was performed in a slovenly and perfunctory manner,[2] and the priests were acting in such a way as to degrade their office.[3]

This was the condition of affairs when at last the Babylonian Jews bestirred themselves to send help (other than money, which very possibly they had periodically been already sending) to their demoralized brethren in Judaea. The agents in this effort were Ezra and Nehemiah,[4] and the main points in the reforms which they endeavoured to introduce were the repudiation of the

[1] Isa. 56^2 f. [2] Mal. 1^{6-10}. [3] Mal. 2.

[4] The exact relation of Ezra to Nehemiah is notoriously difficult to decide, and need not here be discussed. The date usually accepted for their activities is about 440 B.C., but many excellent authorities lean to the supposition that the Artaxerxes whom Nehemiah served was the second of that name, in which case Nehemiah's (and Ezra's) reforms must be placed about sixty years later.

heathen wives, the revival of care in the observance of the religious feasts, and of zeal for the proper support of the Temple and the priesthood. After a desperate struggle, these two won the day. The law was promulgated, probably on Nehemiah's second visit to Jerusalem, and was accepted by the people. The book of Malachi was written either just before, or just after, Nehemiah's time, in order to persuade the Jews to support the law and to observe it.

It is not certain whether the law, which Ezra thus brought from Babylon and read to the people,[1] consisted of the whole Hexateuch, or only of that latest section of it which is now called the Priestly Code (=P); whether, in other words, JE and Deuteronomy had already been incorporated with P or not. But for our purpose the question is of little moment; for the Hexateuch as a whole has been edited and glossed with such persevering skill, that P has become the regulative element of the whole compilation. This Priestly Code, which had been worked out in Babylonian Judaism, contains some elements of earlier story, usage, and idea; it also incorporates that Law of Holiness (H) which, as we saw,[2] dates from near Ezekiel's time; and it received some small additions after Ezra's time. But the bulk of it is the work of exilic and early post-exilic legislators; as such, it presents the culmination of all that study of the law which, as we saw, began during the Exile in Babylon. Its main contents are: (1) Some stories about primitive times, e.g. the Creation story of Genesis 1, a second version of the Flood story, the tale of Abraham's purchase of the Cave of Machpelah;[3] additions to the history of the plagues in Egypt, and of the wanderings in the wilderness. (2) More characteristic are the constant genealogies (inserted in Genesis 5, 10, 11, 25, 28, 35, 36, 46; Exodus 6), the itinerary of the wanderings (Numbers 33), the census of the tribes (Numbers 26), the schedule of the assignments of land in Canaan

[1] Ezra 8. [2] Cap. IV. [3] Gen. 23.

(Numbers 34, Joshua 13–15, and passages in 16–19). (3) The book is, however, mainly occupied with ritual regulations, as to Circumcision, the Passover, the Sabbath, the Feasts, the Day of Atonement, the Sabbatical Year and Jubilee ;[1] with rules for the making and furniture of the Tabernacle and the Ark ; with regulations as to Priests, Levites, Nazirites, sacrifices, clean and unclean food, ritual uncleannesses, women's rights of inheritance. (4) Its main theological singularity is its assertion that the divine name was originally *El shaddai*,[2] and that the name Yahweh was not revealed until Moses was taught to know it.[3] Finally, let us note that this book, though it is written to develop the priestly side of religion, was produced, not as a manual for priestly use, but as a guide for popular worship. As such, it practically dominates the whole later history of Judaism. We will consider (1) its references to the position of the high priest and of the priesthood generally, (2) the cultus which it orders, (3) the view of Yahweh which it sets forth.

(1) There must, of course, have always been a chief of the priests at every important shrine ; and the chief priest at Jerusalem after David's time would always possess a special prestige, due to the position of Jerusalem as the national capital. When Deuteronomy made the Temple the only shrine in Israel, the importance of the chief of the priests at Jerusalem became immensely enhanced. But of a 'high priest' as the acknowledged religious head of the people, holding a special and unique position, apart not only from the people but also from his fellow priests, no trace is found before the Exile. Such a functionary does not appear in JE, in Deuter-

[1] The contents of P can only be accurately discovered by reading such a book as Addis's *Documents of the Hexateuch*, vol. ii, where the document is printed continuously. But, if we exclude small insertions and glosses in older passages, its main portions are : Gen. 1^{1}–23, 7–9, 14, 17, 23, 35^{9-15}; Exod. 6^{2}–7^{13}, 12^{1}–13^{1}, 24^{16}–31^{17}, 34^{29}–40^{38}; Lev. 1^{1}–27^{34}; Num. 1^{1}–10^{28}, 13^{1}–16^{11}, 17^{1}–19^{22}, 25^{6}–31^{54}, 33^{1}–36^{13}; Joshua 13^{14}–15^{61}, 19^{51}–22^{34}.

[2] Gen. 35^{9-15}.

[3] Exod. $6^{2\,f}$

onomy, or in Ezekiel. The first notice of a high priest in this sense is in the Law of Holiness (H) ; [1] but, even here, the high priest is treated only as the first 'among his brethren'. In Haggai and Zechariah, Joshua the high priest figures, by the side of Zerubbabel the civil chief, as one of the two pillars of the state. Here, in P, the high priest is given an entirely unique pre-eminence,[2] which is carried back to Aaron ; the high priesthood is treated as the peculiar prerogative of Aaron's descendants ; and, in the ritual of the Day of Atonement,[3] the high priest is singled out as the official religious representative of the whole nation.

In his exaltation the Aaronic kin share as a whole. They are separated as a special caste from the rest of the people. This specialization of priestly office marks the end of that house-priesthood which had for so long been the general custom. The transition had been slow and gradual ; and, even now, the Passover did not lose its character as a family feast, at which the head of the house presided. But, with this exception, the performance of ritual duties is henceforth held to have been assigned by Yahweh's covenant to Levi alone. Levi's position in the nation is presented as one of unique privilege. The provision of forty-eight cities as a possession for the tribe of Levi,[4] a provision of which Ezekiel knew nothing, is now referred back to the commands of Moses, which Eleazar and Joshua had fulfilled. In actual fact, no such allotment had ever existed ; the setting apart for Levitical use of forty-eight cities with their pasture was a mere theocratic dream, which could never have been possible in practice. But the terms of the provision illustrate the very special position which P assigns to the priestly caste.

Within the tribe of Levi, P establishes two classes, the Aaronic priesthood, whose duties are sacrificial, and the 'Levites', i.e. the other families of the tribe of Levi, who are to do the menial

[1] Lev. 21^{10}.
[2] Exod. 28^{2}.
[3] Lev. 16.
[4] Num. 35^{1-8}, Joshua 21.

work of the Temple. This is a novelty in Hebrew law. In Deuteronomy, which regularly uses the term 'the priests the Levites', no such classification is found. In pre-exilic days, the menial work of the Temple seems to have been performed by foreigners, probably slaves.[1] Ezekiel[2] protests against this custom; and he first draws[3] the distinction between priest and Levites, assigning the Levites to the menial work, as a punishment for the priesthood which they used to exercise at the high places. But in P,[4] whilst the distinction between the two grades is continued, the view taken is that the Levites have never been priests, and that their assignment to the menial duties of the Temple is an honour conferred on them by Yahweh. Thus, in P, a regular hierarchy is at last established, of which the high priest is the official head, while the priests are the superior, and the Levites the inferior, orders of the sacred ministry.

(2) Except in the Law of Holiness (Leviticus 17–26), the regulations of P are almost exclusively ritual and ceremonial. The making and furniture of the Tabernacle and of the Ark are represented as being the subject of elaborate directions from Yahweh to Moses; similarly elaborate are the instructions[5] as to the altar and its furnishing, as to the method of consecration and the vestments of the priests. There is the merest pretence of historical accuracy in all this; in essence the whole section is an attempt simply to give a lineage to the adornments and usages of the Temple. Regular daily sacrifice is ordained.[6] Levitical purifications for ceremonial defilements are carefully prescribed.[7] Circumcision is given a definite religious sanction as part of God's covenant with Abraham,[8] and is represented as the peculiar badge of the Jew throughout the world; the old story in Genesis 34

[1] Joshua 9^{27}, 1 Sam. 2^{13}, Zech. 14^{21}.
[2] Ezek. 44^{7}.
[3] Ezek. $44^{10\,f.}$
[4] Num. 8^{19} $16^{8\,f.}$ $18^{1\,f.}$
[5] Exod. 25–31, 35–40.
[6] Num. 28^{3}.
[7] Lev. 12–15.
[8] Gen. 17^{11}.

is glossed [1] in order to illustrate the defilement of marriage with an uncircumcised man. Solemn emphasis is laid on the duty of Sabbath observance.[2] Following Deuteronomy, the use of one place of sacrifice alone is taken for granted. The feasts are elaborated and defined. In the Book of the Covenant and in Deuteronomy they had been three in number. But in P the number is greatly increased.[3] The daily, Sabbath, and monthly sacrifices are distinguished. The Passover, the feast of Unleavened Bread, the feasts of Pentecost and of Tabernacles, the feast of Trumpets on the first day of the seventh month, are to be celebrated with special sacrifices; and the feasts almost entirely lose their agricultural character, becoming, rather, serious and solemn observances, mainly commemorating historical circumstances and events. Pentecost alone remains a specifically harvest festival.

A very notable peculiarity in P is the institution of the great fast of the Day of Atonement. The custom of religious fasting had probably never been entirely strange to Israel, and, after the Exile, fasts in relation to melancholy anniversaries became common; of such fasts this code says nothing. But, in Leviticus 16, an extraordinarily elaborate and impressive ritual for one annual fast of national repentance and confession is set out. The ritual cannot be anything but antique, and it has been suggested that it is an adaptation of the old Semitic ritual of 'weeping for Tammuz'; but, whatever the model followed, the ritual is now rearranged for use in a great fast of humiliation before Yahweh. This seems to be an entirely new observance; at any rate, Ezekiel knew nothing of it.

Peculiar, also, to P is the institution of the jubilee or fiftieth year,[4] as a year of both cessation from agriculture and release of debtors and slaves. The seven-yearly fallow for a field was an old custom, which the Israelites took over from the Canaanites;

[1] Gen. 34^{14}.
[2] Exod. 31^{15}.
[3] Lev. 23, Num. 28, 29.
[4] Lev. 25.

it is enacted as a law in JE.[1] Deuteronomy [2] had gone farther in ordering a simultaneous seven-yearly fallow with provision for the release of debtors at this time. This rule is alluded to elsewhere in the Old Testament (Ezekiel 46^{17}); but a simultaneous fallow for the whole land can never have been possible; whilst it is clear that the sabbatical release was at least frequently neglected.[3] In P, whilst the sabbatical year is re-enacted as a year of fallow, the whole stress is placed on the year of jubilee as one of both fallow and release. But the enactment proved quite impracticable; agriculturally, it would involve a second consecutive year of fallow; socially, it simply was not observed as a year of release, and remained an idealistic dream.

(3) The Priestly Code is uncompromisingly monotheistic in its view of Yahweh. Yahweh is the God of the individual and of the whole world. The old anthropomorphism of JE is completely transcended, as a comparison between the earlier and the later Creation stories makes plain (Genesis 2, 3, compared with Genesis 1). Yahweh is almighty, and lives in heaven; only his glory dwells in the Temple. Holiness is the supreme idea of P; by holiness it means that systematic respect which it is man's duty to practise towards Yahweh. In accordance with this view, a great emphasis is laid on the special holiness of special places, special times, and special people, e.g. of the Temple, of the Sabbath, of the Jews as distinguished from heathen, and of the priests and Levites as distinguished from everybody else in Israel. The chief devotional note in P is the stress on Sin and Atonement; the sin-offering becomes a characteristic feature of the sacrificial [4] enactments, though this can hardly be an entire novelty; for the Exile, as we saw, had impressed the idea of sin on the Jews, and Ezekiel [5] speaks of sin-offerings and guilt-offerings as if they had already become an element in Jewish worship.

[1] Exod. $23^{10.11}$. [2] Deut. 15.
[3] Jer. 34^{8} f., Neh. 10^{31}. [4] Exod. 29^{14}. [5] Ezek. 40^{39}.

This emphasis on Sin as a moral conception is an event of immense importance in the history of religion in general, and of the preparation for Christ in particular. It is perhaps the greatest contribution of Judaism to the devotional equipment of the human spirit in its attempt to enter into communion with God. Other religions or philosophies may have seemed, or may yet seem, to suggest, or to permit the suggestion of, a virtual equality (in kind, if not in degree) between God and man, or even to play with the notion of a possible superiority of men to God. But Judaism (and Christianity its heir) relegates such an idea for ever to the realm of blasphemy.[1] Teaching as it does that man is made in God's image,[2] it yet insists that God alone is holy, that God is in heaven, and man upon earth,[3] and that all men's righteousnesses are as a polluted garment.[4] Thus it teaches a truth which, rightly apprehended, can save man from that deadliest of all obstacles to spiritual progress, the sense of self-complacency and of merit in God's sight. Indeed, so tremendous was the insistence of later Judaism on sin, so vast the distance that it placed between God and man, that it tended to drive between them an immeasurable chasm and to declare that nothing could really bridge it. The idea of a God who should Himself bridge it by becoming man, and so effect the at-one-ment of divine and human, was something which Judaism became sheerly incapable of conceiving or receiving. In exalting God's holiness and emphasizing man's sinfulness, it produced the result that, whilst the best type of ordinary Jew (the Pharisee) so little understood the deepest teaching of his own scriptures that he fell back on trust in a complete doing of the works of the Law and on a belief in justification by such works, the more deeply spiritual of the Jews, to whom the sense of sin was a real agony, were driven to entire despair of ever attaining to any genuine deliverance. So St. Paul declares [5] 'the command-

[1] John 5^{18}. [2] Gen. 1^{27}.
[3] Eccles. 5^{2}. [4] Isa. 64^{6}. [5] Rom. 7^{10}.

ment, which was unto life, this I found to be unto death', and can find no issue except the desperate cry,[1] 'O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me out of the body of this death?' and we need not think that he was the only Jew who felt thus, though he 'obtained mercy' to find deliverance elsewhere. But, if Judaism by itself seemed therefore to such a man as Saul the Pharisee, the Hebrew of the Hebrews, to end in spiritual despair, it thus prepared for him the way to that acceptance of spiritual redemption through faith in Jesus Christ, for which he thanks God.[2] As in other respects, so too in its emphasis on sin, Judaism is seen to have discharged faithfully that duty of preparing the way for Christ, which is its highest title to human veneration. It was in fact, as St. Paul gratefully acknowledges,[3] 'the tutor of mankind to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith.'

In some points, the general effects of the Priestly Code are obviously dangerous. It laid a dominant emphasis on written scripture, and so completed the tendency, begun by Deuteronomy, to make Judaism the religion of a book. It professed to promulgate a law to cover every step in life and every action of religion; and so it fostered the need for casuistical interpretation, which caused the upgrowth of the professions of Rabbi and Scribe, and the erection of that mountain of 'tradition' which the New Testament notes as tending to strangle the life of Judaism. It nourished a puritanic spirit, which led in the sequel to the development of separatism with its attendant evils of spiritual pride and intolerance, and to a legalism and ritualism which externalized religious fervour. But, while this was its eventual effect, we must not think that these dangers at once or soon materialized. The Old Testament knows nothing of the law as a yoke or a burden; until tradition riveted the rigidity of the law, pride and joy in that law was the

[1] Rom. 7^{24}. [2] Rom. 7^{25}. [3] Gal. 3^{24}.

sentiment of the faithful Jew. It produced earnest piety, and combined with real devotion, of which the book of Job (written perhaps about 400 B.C.) and many of the psalms (especially Psalm 119) are striking examples.[1] It was the groundwork of a genuine trust in God, and nurtured something of a real prophetic fire of inner religion. In its own way, and as meeting the necessities of popular religion in the nation of the time, P marks a stage of real progress in the evolution of Judaism. Nor was it careless of morality because it restricted itself to the regulation of cultus. The restriction was probably conscious; and the book of Job by itself [2] proves that moral idealism was not lost in Israel; though it must be owned that the hate of enemies took, if possible, a new force, as the imprecatory Psalms witness. But the real danger lay in the fact that, by placing moral and ceremonial rules on an equality, the code encouraged the growth of legalism and the loss of moral sensitiveness.

Broadly speaking, the Priestly Code consummates that combination of the priestly and prophetic elements which Deuteronomy had begun; and, in practice, the prophetic element sank into a comparatively secondary influence. The prophets had begun to make a world-religion. Judaism now falls back into the religion of a national church. A more spiritual idea of God has come; but man's relation to Him becomes less warm. The idealism and universalism of the prophets is driven into the understream. Not that the higher tendency ever entirely ceased. The book of Ruth, written in this period, is obviously intended as some sort of counterblast to Ezra and Nehemiah's polemic against heathen marriages; [3] the book of Jonah preaches a really high and noble universalism; and the circles of 'the quiet in the

[1] Ps. 16, 73. [2] Job 29^{12} 31^{16}.

[3] This polemic also caused the Samaritan schism, which eventually became an embittered separation, as Judaism became more vigorous and self-concentrated.

land' still continued to feed the prophetic spirit, so that it should not entirely die. But the surface of Judaism is henceforth legalist, and this legalism becomes increasingly chronic.

The law did not become dominant at once. Ezra, as we saw, had a fierce struggle to impose it on the people, and reaction against it was not unknown. We do not know how or how soon the law eventually won its victory. It riveted its hold on the Jews during the Persian and Egyptian periods,[1] and the law-psalms (especially Psalm 119) show how its grip strengthened. There must have been a persistent propagandism in its interests among the Jews. But the violence of the revolt against Antiochus, and the long hesitation of the revolutionaries [2] to desecrate the Sabbath by using armed resistance on that day, show the power which the law had acquired, and the readiness of the people, if given a proper lead, to die in its defence.

The position of the high priest in the Priestly Code reflected, and gave religious sanction to, what was in some sort already an historical fact. The returned Jews became an ecclesiastical state. Priests formed a very large number (perhaps one in ten) of the returning exiles; and the Return took place under an avowedly religious impulse. The consequence was that the government of the renewed nation fell into the hands of a priestly oligarchy. At its head was the high priest. At first a civil governor of Jewish birth is seen at his side; such is the position in the age of Haggai and Zechariah. But, in time, the governor disappears from view; Nehemiah was civil ruler only for a temporary purpose; and the high priest becomes practically the head of the state. This state was, of course, a very small one at first, extending only to the district lying immediately round Jerusalem. Nor was the high priest a sole autocrat. The local elders still exercised their functions, both in Jerusalem and elsewhere; [3] and a system of payment of the elders seems to have been intro-

[1] 1 Macc. 3^{48}. [2] 1 Macc. 2^{41}. [3] Ezra 5^{9} 6^{7} 10^{14}, Neh. 2^{16}.

duced.[1] Assemblies of the people could be, and were, held. We hear, too,[2] of local courts and judges, apparently distinct from the councils of elders. But the elders of Jerusalem (the Greek term for which is *Sanhedrin*) could not fail to possess a supreme prestige and influence; the majority of these would consist of priests and of members of priestly families, of which the high priest was the titular head. The provisions of the law ensured that the priesthood became both privileged and rich. The tithes and offerings produced a large income; they were not always paid,[3] and it seems that there was no compulsory power to levy them; but public opinion, in general, regarded the payment as a duty.[4] The priestly estates were also considerable; in P these are supposed to have been Joshua's assignment to Levi, but they were probably, in origin, estates connected with the old shrines. The high priesthood became, in consequence, a position that was more and more coveted and intrigued for. From the Return to the time of the Maccabees it continued in the line of Joshua the son of Jozadak. But the Maccabees absorbed the right to it, and Simon established it [5] as the hereditary possession of his family. The appointment had to be confirmed by the suzerain, until the state became independent. After the Romans had reduced Palestine to a sub-province of Syria, the right of nomination belonged to the Herods.

Of the real influence and power of the high priests there can be no doubt. They were only local rulers of Jerusalem and its environs while Judaea was small. When the Maccabaean dynasty immensely enlarged the area of the Jewish state, the office fell into the hands of the man who was also the civil ruler. After the Roman conquest the high priest sank back into the position of, virtually, Mayor of Jerusalem and President of the Temple. But, even as such, his authority was very great. His executive power

1 Neh. 5^{15}, Mal. 1^{8}. 2 Ezra 7^{25} 10^{14}. 3 Mal. 3^{8}.
4 Ecclus. 7^{31}, Judith 11^{13}. 5 1 Macc. 14^{41}.

only extended to Jerusalem and the surrounding district; but a certain moral influence seems to have been conceded to him even by synagogues in the Dispersion, and St. Paul obviously [1] assumed that letters from the priests at Jerusalem would give him a real influence in promoting the persecution of the Christians in the synagogues of gentile cities; while the prestige of the high priest at Jerusalem could not but become very great, when the Temple became the object of religious pilgrimage for Jewish visitors from all over the world, and the centre of Jewish veneration whether in Palestine or outside it.

[The books of Haggai, Ezra, and Nehemiah give some light on the history of the Jews in Palestine at this period. The most significant sections in the Priestly Code are, perhaps, Lev. xvi (the Day of Atonement), xxv (the Jubilee year), Num. xviii (the Levites), xxviii, xxix (the Festivals), xxxv (the Levitical cities and the cities of refuge). The book of Jonah should certainly be read, as an instance of the prophetic spirit surviving in Israel, provided it is read intelligently, with a good exposition or commentary, such as that in Adam Smith's *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*.]

2. *Hellenism*

So far we have been considering the history of the returned Jews, viewed so far as possible in isolation from the world outside. We must, however, remember that, during nearly the whole of this period, they were vassals of a heathen empire. Until 320 B.C. they were the subjects of Persia. Alexander of Macedon broke the Persian Empire; and after his death Palestine fell to the lot of that one of his successors to whom Egypt was assigned. It remained under Egypt until, in 198 B.C., Syria, which had coveted this province for a century, at last wrested it from Egypt. The Syrian persecution provoked a Jewish revolt which, after many vicissitudes, led to the establishment of Jewish independence in 140 B.C.; and this independence lasted till 63 B.C., when Pompey annexed the land to the Roman Empire. In the trail of the

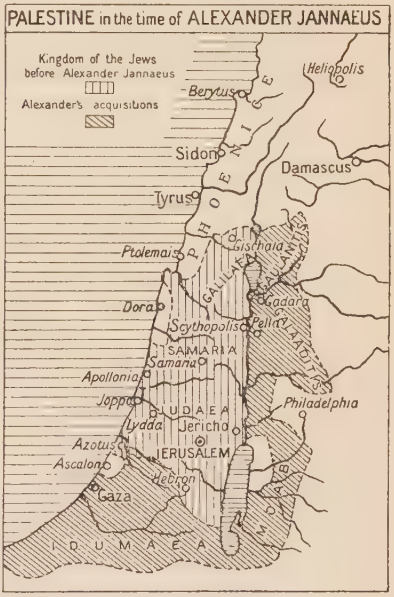
[1] Acts 22^{5} 26^{12}.

Roman power came the rise of the Herodian dynasty in Palestine, as client-kings under Roman suzerainty.

This condition of vassalage did not, at first, mean either religious persecution or political oppression of the Jews. Persia conceded to them a virtual self-government, and the nation shut itself up into itself, in tranquil seclusion from world-movements. Its condition under Egypt was even favourable. The Ptolemies, in general, had a good understanding with the Jews, and subjected them to little in the shape of outside interference. But the indulgences of an Oriental despotism have often an enervating effect on those whom it favours; and, though the Jews under Egyptian rule did not lapse into religious infidelity, this period witnesses in them a real moral and social degeneration. A Jew had nothing to do but to trade or to cultivate his plot. No public career or prosperity was open for any but the supple few who could win the favours of the Egyptian king or his grandees. It has been plausibly suggested that the book of Ecclesiastes voices the resentful pessimism of the man who has no chance to use his talents in public service. Under such circumstances, bribery and the oppression of the poor by the rich found a fine field. It is significant that many of the Psalms seem to assume the victimization of the poor as a normal occurrence, and that the terms 'poor' and 'righteous' often appear in the Psalter as practically synonymous. The books of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus give an unpleasant impression of the moral condition of Jewish society. Licentiousness, conjugal infidelity, open robbery, and the chicaneries of commercial cunning seem to be common; and, though family life is held in high esteem, the bad wife is apparently a familiar figure.

The persecution of Antiochus came as a real tonic. Degenerate as the Jews had grown under the Egyptian régime, the violence of open oppression, taking the form of a deliberate attempt to extirpate their national religion, re-aroused the nation's spirit

to a warlike temper, such as it had not known for centuries; and the Maccabaean revolt gave the signal for a resurgence of Jewish virility, which was rewarded by the gain of a short-lived independence. The Maccabees largely extended the borders of the Jewish state, incorporating into it by enforced circumcision (a notable application of the permission given in the Priestly Code) the Samaritans, the Idumaeans, and the Ituraeans. The limits of Jewish sovereignty reached once more to Merom in the north, to Bashan and Gilead in the east, and to Egypt in the south. Aristobulus enriched Jerusalem with great public buildings. But the later Hasmonaean rulers (the dynasty was that of the sons of Hashmon, of which the Maccabaean brothers were the first notable members) degenerated badly from the moral standard set by Judas Maccabaeus and his brothers.



Under them the people relapsed into a condition of sullen discontent, in which they were ready at first to welcome with relief the advent of Rome. Under Rome and the Herods the civilization of the Jews had every external appearance of magnificence. There was a brilliant Graecized court; the Roman favour, which the Herods were so adroit in retaining, allowed Judaea the enjoyment of many privileges of culture and commerce; Herod the Great was possessed by a passion for the erection of great buildings, and

gratified it assiduously in his re-building of the Temple and in many other public works. But, internally, the life of the Herodian age is in sorry contrast to this external brilliance; the records tell a dreadful story of political intrigue, of royal murders, of ruthless despotism, of a reckless interchange of insults and reprisals between Jews and Romans; in the hearts of the people, politically paralysed by the power of Rome, a seething resentment at the Herodian monarchy, a fierce enmity to Rome, a hatred of the Roman procurators, gradually gathered force, until it erupted in the terrible revolt of A.D. 66, which ended in the destruction of the Jewish state.

This is an epoch in which the pressure of foreign influences bore in on the Jews in a volume, and with a strength, such as the country had never before experienced. The Persian, and still more the Egyptian, periods witnessed a great development of Jewish commerce and of Jewish relations with the outside world. This was partly inevitable; a vassal state could not entirely isolate itself from relation to foreign countries. Partly also it was due to the rapid increase of the Jewish Dispersion. This Dispersion, beginning, as we saw,[1] with the settlement of Jews in Babylon and in Egypt, was immensely extended, both by spontaneous migration, and by the practice of Alexander's successors, who invited Jews to join in populating the cities which they built in large numbers. Jewish colonies sprang up all over the eastern Mediterranean; in Alexandria the Jews were especially numerous. The Dispersed Jews were sedulous in keeping up a relation with Jerusalem. Thus Jewish ideas were broadened. A Jewish-Greek literature came into existence. The first part of the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, which was produced between 300–250 B.C., was an event of immense importance to the future of Judaism. To the Dispersion, also, Judaism owes the application to the Old Testament of that

[1] Cap. IV.

system of allegorical interpretation[1] which dominated both Jewish and, afterwards, Christian exegesis for centuries; from the Dispersion, especially in Egypt, the influence of Greek philosophy also first made its way into Judaism. The book of Wisdom and the writings of Philo show a real attempt in Alexandrian Judaism to give Jewish wisdom a new orientation towards the world of Greek thought.

Besides this indirect method of influence, the direct influx of Hellenism into Palestine set in, especially after the conquests of Alexander had opened the eastern world to western infiltration. This came partly through trade. The Jews were now thoroughly commercialized. Excavations attest the presence in Palestine at this period of figured vases in large numbers, terra-cotta statuettes, Rhodian amphora-handles, and other imports from the Aegean. Simon the Maccabee (*c.* 140 B.C.) stimulated trade, and established Joppa as the port of Jerusalem. His wealth and prosperity are cited as superlative in 1 Maccabees 14^{4-15} 15^{32-5}; and that money must have been plentiful in Judaea is shown by the speed with which the Temple was restored, after its desecration by Antiochus. This commercial tendency told especially among the young men of rich, i.e. of priestly, families. Hand in hand with this development there came also, as was natural, a direct imitation and importation of Hellenism, which grew rapidly in Palestine. Greek cities arise everywhere. Foreign architecture and art is extensively copied (art always was an exotic among the Jews, and they never produced a native style in either painting or architecture). Greek thought, dress, manners, and ways of life become dominant in certain circles, and fashionable Jewish society assiduously practises Greek fashions.

The Jewish language was largely modified under these influences. Aramaisms had, in the eighth century, already begun to be introduced.[2] During the Exile Babylonian and Persian locutions

[1] Cf. note at end of Introduction.

[2] Isa. 36^{11}.

were borrowed. On his second return to Jerusalem,[1] Nehemiah found some Jews who had forgotten their own tongue. During the Persian ascendancy, Aramaic became first the official, and later the general, language of conversation; Hebrew remained as the tongue of worship and of the learned, but it was a Hebrew largely infused with Aramaisms, such as is found in the post-exilic sections of the Old Testament. After the Hellenistic influx set in, Greek became the current tongue of conversation, as much as, or even more than, Aramaic. The Palestinian coins of this period bear Greek legends; the inscriptions, both formal and casual, are mostly in Greek; and of the names cut on tombs, at least half are in Greek letters. It is not impossible that our Lord habitually spoke Greek, and used only occasional Aramaic phrases, some of which have been duly recorded in the gospels. Early Christian literature seems, however, to have been written in Aramaic, as well as in Greek.

It was, probably, not till the end of this period that the development began which in post-biblical times made Jewish doctors famous in the East. Among the Bedawin the women act as doctors. In ancient Israel, the theory was that sickness was due to a demon, to Yahweh, or to his angel; the healer was therefore a man of God, a magician, or a priest;[2] and the methods of healing were plainly of the magical type.[3] There was nothing of the nature of scientific research or scientific treatment, but, no doubt, much experimental knowledge was gradually accumulated. We have incontestable evidence of the existence of Jewish physicians after the Exile; but the profession seems to be still a novelty. In Ecclesiasticus[4] the honour due to a physician is enjoined; but the chronicler, writing in the same period, and writing in the priestly interest, condemns Asa for seeking 'not to the Lord, but to the physicians'.[5] It was probably in the Dispersion,

[1] Neh. 13^{24}.
[2] 2 Kings 5, Deut. 24^{8}, Lev. 13.
[3] 2 Kings 5^{11} 20^{7}.
[4] Ecclus. 38^{1} f.
[5] 2 Chron. 16^{12}.

rather than in Palestine, that Jewish medicine found its most congenial nursery.

The process of Hellenization went on in the Dispersion unchecked, save by the natural conservatism of Judaism and by the constant tendency of the Dispersed Jews to look with reverence to Jerusalem. Of religious liberalism, and even of religious syncretism, in the Dispersion, clear signs are to be seen, both in Philo and in Josephus.[1] A very extensive Jewish propaganda was at work in gentile countries; and, as the Acts make plain,[2] in most gentile cities, besides the Jews proper, and the circumcised proselytes, there was attached to every synagogue an outer fringe of gentile adherents who, without being circumcised, professed adhesion to the moral rules of Jewish law, and probably to the regulations as to the Sabbath and as to clean and unclean meats. The theory was even propounded by some Rabbis that circumcision was unnecessary for a gentile proselyte, and that baptism was a sufficient lustration from defilement, in order to qualify a gentile to take part in Jewish worship. The momentousness of this standpoint, as a preparation for the gentile mission of St. Paul, is clearly discernible in reading the Acts.

In Palestine, on the other hand, the influx of Hellenism provoked a reaction, which became a violent revolt when Antiochus tried to introduce Hellenism by force, in place of Judaism. Hatred of paganism blazed out and destroyed all proselytism among heathen in Palestine. Antiochus, it has been well said, 'saved Judaism from shipwreck on the rising tide of Hellenism'. The conservative reaction was embodied in the *Hasidim*, a definite society of Jews, who, in avowed opposition to the Hellenizing modernists, set themselves to the zealous study and practice of the Jewish law, and asserted a principle of exclusiveness which would make the Jews distinct in every way from the gentile

[1] For the instances, cf. Kirsopp Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, Cap. II, p. 24 f.

[2] Acts 10^{2} 13^{16}.

world. As the Hellenizers belonged mostly to the rich priestly families, the *Hasidim* came mostly from the circles of the less wealthy citizens, and the division between the rich and the poor, which had begun as a social distinction in and immediately after the Exile, was now reinforced by a religious cleavage between the same classes. 'The poor' and 'the righteous' now became synonymous terms in legalist Judaism.

These *Hasidim* (= the pious ones) lent their support to the Maccabaean revolt; but they seem to have been repelled by the moral degradation of later Hasmonaean rule, and to have been absorbed gradually into a similar party, which under a different name now comes to light, the Pharisees (= separated ones). In the last century of this period, the two chief Jewish parties are the Pharisees and the Sadducees. The point at issue between them is not that of the acceptance or rejection of Hellenistic ways. The age of Hellenism had now set in unconquerably. Under Rome and the Herods the surface of Jewish life became wholly Hellenized, and the Jews had to make the best of that which in any case could not be altered. The Pharisees differed from the Sadducees partly in religious views. The former accepted the new apocalyptic, with its doctrine of angels and of the resurrection (of which we shall hear in our next section), while the Sadducees treated these doctrines as new-fangled[1] and clung to an old-fashioned conservatism in religion. But the difference between the two parties lay mainly in their respective practical attitudes to circumstances. 'Pharisee' was the name applied to men who aimed at a complete obedience to the Mosaic law as interpreted by scribal tradition. Regarding worldly politics as hopeless for any true Jew, they resigned themselves to wait for the divine intervention promised by the apocalyptists, when the earth would be set right by a violent cataclysm. Meanwhile, they would obey the law in every tittle, and emphasize the separation of Judaism

[1] Acts 23^8.

from the world, and their own immense superiority over the rest of the people, who were equal to obeying only so much of the law as they found practicable.

The Pharisees were not very numerous, nor did they ever enjoy the sweets of official power, except for a brief period under Alexandra Salome (76–67 B.C.), when they used their authority to reorganize the council, to purge the law-courts, to establish schools for religious instruction, and to renew old customs, especially that of support for the Temple, which had fallen into abeyance under the later Hasmonaeans. But, few in number as were the Pharisees, their influence with the people was very great; the Jews at large were themselves not Pharisees, but they admired the Pharisees as ultra-Jews; and Pharisaic Judaism was regarded as the ideal of orthodoxy. The Sadducees, on the other hand, were the party of the priestly aristocracy, of the rich and official class of Jerusalem; outside Jerusalem we hear nothing of Sadducean influence. Their character for tyrannous cruelty is attested for us both by Josephus and by the New Testament. Their chief *forte* was politics. They enjoyed, under Rome, all the official power that Jews were allowed to exercise; hence their policy was that of a careful opportunism, which discouraged, so far as it could, all revolutionary tendencies, and treated the apocalyptic expectation as a dangerous sentiment, liable to inflame passion and provoke Rome to attempt suppression.

The Pharisees and Sadducees were only sections of the people. The people themselves stood outside both; and the quietist circles still remained in existence. A strange and somewhat obscure body of monks, called the Essenes, represents perhaps the extravagance of quietism; their system, however, was not wholly Jewish, and shows traces of having been affected by foreign, some say by Buddhistic, mysticism. They were respected by orthodox Judaism; but their numbers were small, they lived in more or less self-enclosed communities, and they never much

affected Jewish thought or practice. Apart from these, the 'quiet in the land' are probably best represented for us by the figures of Simeon, who, we are told,[1] was 'righteous and devout, looking for the consolation of Israel', of Anna, who moved among those 'that were looking for the redemption of Jerusalem',[2] and of the religious circle in which the Blessed Virgin is seen, and in which Jesus Christ grew up.[3] Up and down the land, especially perhaps away from Jerusalem, pious and quiet souls still fed themselves on the prophetic hope, still laboured to keep it spiritual, still strove to use the devotional language of psalm and prophecy in order to edify themselves in that mystical relation to God which is the deepest well of true religion. Such seems to have been the circle of influences in which our Lord passed His boyhood, and from which He received His education for manhood.

[The first book of the Maccabees is the first Jewish attempt at writing historical narrative in the modern sense of the word 'history'. It is an excellent authority for the period of the earlier Hasmonaeans, and is both interesting and, in general, reliable. In Bevan's *Jerusalem under the High Priests* a delightful account of the history is supplied, in which the information found in Josephus is drawn upon as well.]

3. *The Religious Tendencies in Judaism*

When we view the post-exilic era as a whole, we can see that, for any religious-minded Jew, it must have seemed a period of disillusionment and disappointment, leading at last, in many, to a dull or angry despair. The exiles had returned with high expectations, such as are voiced in Haggai and Zechariah.[4] The more religious a Jew was, the more ready would he be to anticipate a fulfilment which in some degree would correspond with the great promises of Deutero-Isaiah.[5] They returned only to find themselves in virtual servitude, or, at any rate, in a condition where

[1] Luke 2^{25}. [2] Luke 2^{38}. [3] Luke 1.
[4] Hag. 2^{21}, Zech. 3^{8} 6^{12}. [5] Isa. 40.

their national impotence was so obvious, that no illusion of their own importance or dignity could be entertained, even by the most fatuous of Jews. It is remarkable that such circumstances produced no movement towards atheism, and that the Jews continued to hold that none but the fool would say that there is no God.[1] Nor, even, was there any general loss of their feeling of national relation to Yahweh; this may be due to the fact that, probably, only those who were most keenly faithful to the prophetic teaching obeyed the summons to return. But the spring gradually went out of their religious feeling. They came to believe that the creative period was past. The author of Zechariah 9–14 probably lived in the Egyptian period, and is the last of the canonical prophets; he expresses plainly[2] the sentiment that prophecy is at an end. The same thought recurs in Psalm 74^9; while in 1 Maccabees 14^{41} Simon is elected as high priest, until (pathetic aspiration!) 'there should arise a faithful prophet'. The roll of the prophets, which constitutes the second volume of the Old Testament, and comprises Judges, Samuel, and Kings as 'the early prophets', and Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets, was probably closed by 200 B.C.

The result was that, whilst prophetic aspiration still lived on in a few, the nation as a whole came to feel that the only course for them to take, until the creative spirit returned, was to practise themselves in strict obedience to the will of Yahweh. Hence the increasing emphasis on the letter of the law, and the increasing zeal for its interpretation, which produced the scribal 'tradition'. This also had the advantage of ministering to that pride in their religion which, in the degradation of their outward circumstances, was the only resource left to them to preserve their national self-respect. If in every other way they were 'a worm' among the nations, in religious affairs at least they would assert their national spirit against foreigners. Thus grew the sense of separatism, and

[1] Ps. 14^1.

[2] Zech. 13$_3$.

a spiritual scorn for the gentiles, of which the New Testament gives constant evidence, and which finds perhaps its culminating expression in the words of 2 Esdras 6^{54-6}: 'of him [Adam] come we all, the people whom thou hast chosen. . . . O Lord, . . . thou hast said that for our sakes thou madest this world. As for the other nations, which also come of Adam, thou hast said that they are nothing, and are like unto spittle; and thou hast likened the abundance of them unto a drop that falleth from a vessel.' Any possibility of universalism passes from Judaism; and Jonah, and Isaiah 19^{24} (if that be post-exilic), are exceptions which are almost painfully exceptional.[1]

The law thus became an instrument of national self-protection, which passed into full-fledged national particularism. The observance of Circumcision, of the Sabbath, of the Ceremonial, was insisted on in order to emphasize the distinction between Jew and Gentile. When obedience to the law became the dominant note of Jewish religion, the interpreters of its meaning became a dominant profession. The religion became one of a book and a written code. The text of the Hexateuch, and even some details of the traditional history, were not finally fixed; we find not a few discrepancies, for instance, between St. Stephen's speech [2] and the authorized Old Testament. But, none the less, the law became the authoritative guide to life, and, as such, the systematic teaching of the law became a matter of concern to Judaism. No schools had existed in Israel before the Exile. But, though it may have been an uncommon accomplishment to read and write,[3] the line of illiteracy cannot have been drawn very high; [4] for Amos and Micah among the prophets belonged to the masses, and the workmen on Hezekiah's Siloah conduit [5] were able

[1] Though some of the Psalms show a similar generosity of view, e.g. 45, 47^{9}, 65^{2}, 67, 72, 150^{6}.

[2] Acts 7.

[3] Isa. 29^{12}.

[4] Isa. 10^{19}.

[5] Cap. III, § 1 *ad fin.*

to carve the manner of their work on the rock. The task of education in that time was mainly performed by parents, though, in the homes of the great, tutors [1] took their place; and possibly the priests at the sanctuaries, and the 'wise men' also, taught their disciples. From Ezra's time the importance attached to a knowledge of the law caused the rise of a class of professional teachers, apparently organized in a regular guild of 'scribes'. The 'wise men' or sages,[2] who possibly were now absorbed into the scribal class, seem also to have given regular instruction. Under the influence of Alexandrian Judaism schools on the Greek model were probably established; in later times such certainly existed in Hellenistic centres, and even at Jerusalem. But the main work of Jewish education was done at the synagogues, where the scribes were the chief, though never the only, teachers, and in private houses; and certainly the standard of general culture was fairly high. After the Pharisaic reorganization of Jewish affairs in 75 B.C.[3] an elementary school was connected with most, if not with all, synagogues, where reading and writing, and possibly the rudiments of arithmetic, formed the curriculum. The Scriptures were the only text-book, and the method of teaching was largely by oral repetition. The scribes, who thus are representatives of lay-learning, were not systematically paid for their work; probably many received a honorarium for it; but they were allowed to, and did, engage in trade; and they are accused of covetousness in the New Testament. The scribal colleges, such as those of Hillel, Shammai, or St. Paul's tutor Gamaliel, which first appear in the time of Herod the Great, were for the experts, and afforded a more professional education for the intending Rabbi. For the diffusion of popular knowledge, the natural centre was the synagogue and the synagogue-school; and its importance in the common life of the time cannot be over-estimated.

[1] 2 Kings $10^{1.5}$. [2] Ecclus. 38^{24} f. [3] Cap. V, § 2.

We do not know when or how the synagogue originated; but whether it began during the Exile or later, it is most probable that the synagogue-system was first established in the settlements of Dispersed Jews. But, by the time of the Maccabees, synagogues had multiplied on Palestinian soil, and in Jerusalem itself. They became the chief centres of Jewish religion, especially as the Jewish state so grew in size, that many Jews were too far away to be in any real touch with the Temple at Jerusalem. The Temple and its sacrifices remained the official national expression of worship; but for the great majority of the people the local synagogues provided the familiar and every-day inspiration for their actual religious life. The importance of the synagogue-system lies partly in the fact that it accustomed the Jews to a form of worship in which prayer, praise, and Scripture-reading, rather than sacrifice, gave the note, and so it prepared them unconsciously for the time when the Temple was finally destroyed. But the synagogues served mainly as a religious school, in which the hold of the law on the nation was permanently fastened; and every Jewish child grew up in an all-pervading atmosphere of legalist Judaism.

As indicative of the culture of the period, we may remark that this was an age of great literary activity in Palestine. Ecclesiastes [1] notes the 'making of many books' as a characteristic of his time; and the list of the productions of Jewish literature in this epoch is both extensive and varied. It includes such specimens in different kinds as the romance of Ruth, the allegory of Jonah, the story of Tobit, the patriotic tales of Esther and Judith, the religious drama of Job, the visions of Joel and Daniel, the compilation of the book of Proverbs, the history of the Maccabees, the moral and religious speculations and apophthegms of Ecclesiastes and Ecclesiasticus, and the earlier apocalyptic literature. In the Persian period the books of Chronicles re-edited

[1] Eccles. 12^{12}.

the history of the monarchy from the priestly standpoint. The Canon of the Old Testament began to be fixed. At some time, though we do not know exactly when, lections began to take the place of prophesyings,[1] in public religious gatherings. During this era, too, the five books of the Psalter were collected for use in the Temple, and perhaps also in the synagogues. In the main the Psalms as they stand are post-exilic, and many, no doubt, were written at this time; many, however, are editions of older hymns, re-coloured in accordance with later ideas. The Psalter is thus a selection, for use in public worship, out of that large and varied body of Hebrew poetry which had been produced in all ages, beginning from the time of the old songs embodied in JE, and which included such varieties of poetry as taunt-songs (alluded to in Psalm 44^{15} 69^{12}, Job 30^{9}, while actual samples occur in Isaiah $14^{4\,f.}$ $37^{22\,f.}$), elegies, and mourning-songs (cf. Amos 5^{16}, Jeremiah 9^{17} 22^{18} 34^{5}, Zechariah 12^{12}), of which a considerable example is preserved in the book of Lamentations, songs of the vineyard (Isaiah 5^{1}), of the country, and of love, of which a beautiful specimen remains to us in the Song of Solomon.[2]

The Wisdom literature of this period calls for special mention, not only as literature, but also as illustrative of a notable tendency in the religious thought of the time. Sages have, of course, been figures in many an ancient civilization. Of the existence of wise men before the Exile there can be no doubt; tradition made Solomon the embodiment of the type. After the Exile, the sayings of wise men began to be compiled in such a book as the Proverbs; and other literature of a similar kind began to be produced. Of such new books, Job, Ecclesiastes, and Ecclesiasticus are famous examples. In the first two of these we are conscious that Judaism is making a strong and painful effort at intellectual readjustment. In the book of Wisdom we see the finest flower of such literature that Hellenistic Judaism produced. The

[1] Zech. $14\,7$.

[2] Cf. Gordon, *The Poets of the Old Testament*.

Wisdom movement in the Dispersion, and especially in Alexandria, went on, as in Philo's writings, to attempt to effect a fusion of Jewish and Greek thought. In Palestine the movement seems to have lasted for about two centuries (380–180 B.C.), but then to have been extinguished by the current reputation of the law as the highest manifestation of wisdom. So far as it went, however, it did two notable things: (1) it went a long way in the direction of giving the Wisdom of God a personal existence,[1] and so paved the way along one line for the Christian doctrine of the Holy Spirit; (2) it set out a type of rationalized morals, which aimed at supplying practical guidance in the problems of religious and moral life and thought. The tone of the Wisdom literature as a whole is 'unchurchy', but not irreligious (Ecclesiasticus is the work of a man who honours the law, who is himself a scribe, and who includes a hymn[2] in honour of the high priest and the Temple). To a large extent it takes the shape of homely aphorisms, which probably embody a great deal of popular philosophy. It is prosaic and limited, and neither profound nor fervent; but it is wide, humane, sane, and clean. On the whole, too, it is the work of disillusioned men; it is a morality for individual life, and not an inspiration for national regeneration. As such, it was not 'strong enough meat' for the nation, when times grew worse under Antiochus, and it succumbed before the rise of Apocalyptic Messianism, which we must now consider.

The Messianic hope, in one shape, is pre-exilic; very possibly its origin was with the seers and court-prophets of the monarchy. We find its earliest extant form in the early poem called 'the Blessing of Jacob',[3] where the primacy of Judah and of David is foretold until some one else (very vaguely defined) comes. A similar idea occurs in the Balaam poems.[4] In J[5] the promise is expanded to a 'seed of the woman', and is given a moral

1 Wisd. 7^{27}. 2 Ecclus. 50. 3 Gen. 49^{10}; cf. 2 Sam. 7^{15}.
4 Num. 24^{17}. 5 Gen. 3^{15}.

significance, which recurs also in Amos's warning [1] of a day of Yahweh as one of moral judgement. The pre-exilic prophets are unanimous both in their denunciations of doom and in their promise of some hope of restoration to the nation. In Isaiah and Jeremiah,[2] the hope is personified in the promised advent of some great one, who shall usher in the day of this redemption, and who, coming of David's line, shall perfect the Davidic kingdom in righteousness. The process of redemption is pictured by them as taking place by natural means; but the work of the deliverer is described in language of poetical hyperbole, and his functions are celebrated in an exalted strain. In the prophecies of the exilic Deutero-Isaiah the idea becomes that of a Suffering Servant of Yahweh, who by his sufferings, though himself innocent, will effect the needed regeneration. But this idea never fully domiciled itself in the Jewish Messianic hope, except perhaps for a moment, when the Jews were ready to see its fulfilment in the nation itself emerging from its servitude, or in Zerubbabel as the nation's representative; such an interpretation seems to be that suggested by Zechariah.[3] In the disappointment of the post-exilic period, the hope seems in fact to have passed away from Judaism.

The end of the Egyptian period, however, and the coming of the Maccabaean age, revived the Messianic aspiration, though now in a new form. Prophecy gives way to apocalyptic, i.e. to a novel sort of prophecy, which claims to be wise in divine secrets, and which deals mainly in visions of a supernatural reversal of the national fortunes, and of the inauguration of an era of celestial rule over a transformed world. Of this method the Old Testament contains some notable specimens, such as Isaiah 24–27 (chapters which are admittedly of post-exilic date); Zechariah 12-14; the book of Joel, the date of which is not certainly determinable, but is probably to be placed in the Egyptian period; and the book of Daniel, produced during the time of the Maccabaean rising in

[1] Amos 5^{18}. [2] Isa. 7^{14} 9^{6} 11^{1}, Jer. 23^{5} 33^{15}. [3] Zech. 2^{10} $4^{9.10}$ $6^{11.12}$.

order to encourage the nation to endurance and faith under its persecution. Similar ideas occur in the eschatological psalms.[1] Outside the canonical books, a great mass of apocalyptic literature from this period still remains to us, in which the hope of a divine overturning of all the world is set forth in language of amazing extravagance and in pictures of chaotic sensuousness. No kind of a system of eschatological expectation can be derived from this mass of apocalyptic imaginings. But it is clear, firstly, that the process of redemption is no longer expected to take place by any natural development of human affairs, but by a divine intervention which will produce a cosmic convulsion, in which the very evil earth of the present will be replaced by a world ruled by God. The picture includes the hope of national regeneration, but places this as only the outstanding feature in a world-event which will affect all mankind. In this redeemed earth, the leading figure will be a supernatural being, who appears under different names in various sections of the literature. In Daniel[2] he is called 'the Messiah', in the book of Enoch 'the Son of Man', in the Psalms of Solomon 'the Son of David'. But, however his name varies, his function is fundamentally the same in each case; he is to rule the new earth in obedience to Yahweh, to hold his seat in Jerusalem, and to preside over the destinies of a redeemed Judaism as the spiritual centre of a renewed world.

The character of the circles in which such literature originated is a matter of much dispute. But of its nature as popular, and not esoteric, literature there is no doubt. It was immensely in vogue, and its effect was to nourish discontent with the present and to inspire hope for the future. It was, in fact, as it has been called, a series of 'tracts for bad times'. In many Jews, no doubt, the Messianic expectation was simply and crassly political and material; but it was not so in all; some read it in more spiritual fashion. But, however it was interpreted, the figure of the Messiah became

[1] Ps. 144[5] 149[7].

[2] Dan. 9[25].

the ideal of those who were zealous for the law in Judaism. The influence of Jewish apocalyptic passed on into Christianity. Our Lord's teaching about the Kingdom of God started from the Jewish expectation. The early Christians preached Jesus as the fulfilment of Messianic prophecy; and their doctrine of the *Parousia*, or Second Advent, of Christ was a Christianized edition of Jewish eschatology; whilst the book of Revelation (as its name 'the Apocalypse' implies) is a Christian adaptation of the method of Jewish apocalyptic, and may even be a Christian version of an originally Jewish apocalypse.

In accepting the conception of the Messiah as a supernatural being, Judaism supplies an illustration of a tendency which was now becoming very strong in popular religion. Judaism had become firmly and uncompromisingly monotheistic; but, in so doing, it had tended to so transcendental a view of Yahweh that intermediary beings between him and man could find room. Yahweh lived in a world of his own; he was entirely celestial; and it was a natural corollary that this divine world of heaven should be peopled. Thus arose the system of Jewish angelology. In the early Israelite poems 'the angel of Yahweh' is practically a circumlocution for Yahweh himself in relation to, or in action towards, man. But we find in J[1] an enigmatic reference to 'sons of God', who take wives of the daughters of men, where the sons of God can mean nothing else but angels; this is plainly an old myth, which the compiler has preserved, but of which he makes little, preferring, in fact, to see such unions as the source of moral corruption. In Micaiah's vision,[2] 'the host of heaven' appears as a council of celestial beings, whose character is morally colourless in itself, and who are prepared to inspire false prophecy, if Yahweh commands it. There is no angelic hierarchy, nor are there any angelic names. But, possibly under Persian influences, post-exilic Judaism began to

[1] Gen. 6^{1-5}. [2] 1 Kings 22^{19}.

develop an angelology which, by the time of the Maccabees, included an ordered system of archangels and angels, with a very extensive nomenclature; of this the books of Tobit [1] and of Enoch give us full evidence.

In this period, a Jewish demonology also comes into being. In the pre-exilic literature there is no devil. The J story of Genesis 3 uses an old Serpent-myth to convey a much more modern and enlightened doctrine of conscience; but it nowhere identifies the Serpent with a devil; and Amos [2] specifically refers evil fortune to Yahweh himself. In post-exilic writings diabolical beings begin to figure. In Zechariah [3] Satan appears as the angelic adversary of Israel, such as he is also represented in 1 Chronicles 21[1]; but he is still not a devil, and in fact bears more resemblance to the deceiving angel of Micaiah's vision.[4] In Leviticus a wilderness-demon, named Azazel,[5] is mentioned in connexion with the ritual of the Day of Atonement; and in a post-exilic chapter of Isaiah [6] we find the name of Lilith as a demon of the night. In Job [7] Satan is still an angel, but one who represents the severe side of God's providence, and is in some sort 'a disgruntled angel', as he has been called. In the whole Old Testament, the idea of the devil as a fallen spirit hating God does not appear. But in the apocryphal literature of this period, though some writers ignore the existence of demons, and others make angels and devils the powers of nature or of human tendencies, others, such as the author of Tobit,[8] make much reference to diabolical agency, while the writers of the book of Enoch almost revel in drawing pictures of a pandemonium under its king, ranged in opposition to Yahweh and the heavenly host. The extent to which this conception had rooted itself in Jewish thought is shown by St. Paul's frequent language [9] on the

1 Tobit 3^{17} 5^{4} 12^{15}. 2 Amos 3^{6}. 3 Zech. 3^{1}. 4 *Vide supra.*
5 Lev. 16^{8}. 6 Isa. 34^{14}. 7 Job 1^{6} f.
8 Tobit 3^{8} $6^{7.14}$. 9 Rom. 8^{38}, 1 Cor. 10^{20}.

subject, and by our Lord's use of the figure of Satan as the medium through which to personify the malignity of the force of temptation.

As the Messianic hope developed in Israel there came also, in connexion with, and in fact as part of, that hope, the growth of belief in individual immortality. As the Jews came more and more to despair of the present, and to postpone the future restoration for which they persisted in hoping, there arose the problem, what share would this generation of Yahweh's servants have in the divine era if they died before it took place. It cannot be said that the Israelites had ever believed in extinction at death. The primeval cult of the dead was completely opposed to any true Yahwism, but it died very hard in Israel.[1] The doctrine of *Sheol*, a place where the shades of the dead led a joyless and attenuated existence, utterly unconnected with Yahweh or his worship, though in origin perhaps Babylonian, was the current Hebrew idea of immortality, even when Yahwism had largely won its battle in the provinces of theology and cultus. It is accepted without question in Hezekiah's thanksgiving,[2] in the book of Job [3] (though there not without obvious repugnance), and in many of the Psalms.[4] It asserts an endless but undesirable after-existence as the lot of man. Against this dreary idea nothing could be set except the unique translations of Enoch and Elijah, and the speculation of J [5] on the problem why men are not immortal like God. In such countervailing ideas lay the rudiments, but as yet only the rudiments, of something more hopeful. Yahwism was very slow to develop those rudiments. The prophets were too fully occupied with proclaiming the possibility of communion with Yahweh in this life, to have time or thought to give to a speculation as to the nature of the after-life. The prophets of the eighth century,[6] in pursuit of their vigorous challenge on

1 Isa. 65^{4}, Lev. 19^{31} $20^{6.27}$. 2 Isa. 38^{18}. 3 Job 10^{21}.
4 Ps. 6^{5} $88^{5.10}$ 115^{17}. 5 Gen. 3^{22}. 6 Amos 9^{2}, Isa. 149.

behalf of monotheism, do indeed claim that even in Sheol there is no escape from Yahweh; but they do not work the idea out. Even in the sixth century, when the problem of the reward of the righteous became urgent, we find nothing but a very occasional flash of a theory which pictures a redress of the balance of the unjust present as taking place in the future. Thus Psalms 16^{9-11} 30^{3} (if these Psalms are so early) do no more than repeat, in the strain of Hezekiah, the hope of deliverance from death; and Psalm 17^{15} refers only to a daily awakening to communion with Yahweh. But Psalm 49^{14-15} seems to look beyond Sheol, and Psalm 73^{24} overlooks death in the reality of union with Yahweh; while Ezekiel, in one passage,[1] seems to divide the dead into good and bad. In the post-exilic writings the development of this idea does not at first go much farther. Thus the book of Job mainly takes the old view of Sheol, though in one passage[2] it utters a tentative wish for something more than this, and in the famous verses of 19^{25-7} the idea of a temporary vision of God after death is hinted at; whilst a late Psalm[3] repeats Amos's assurance that Sheol itself is not outside the reach of Yahweh's hand. On the other hand, Ecclesiastes[4] definitely denies to man any pre-eminence over the beasts, and Ecclesiasticus[5] roundly declares that 'the expectation of man is the worm'.

Hence it comes as a surprise to find, in the book of Wisdom (written perhaps in the first century B.C., if not later), the idea of immortality for the good, and punishment after death for the wicked, not only asserted, but asserted as an agreed doctrine.[6] This is a complete change. To the Sadducees the doctrine appeared only as newfangled; but the Pharisees supported it, and the people followed them; the doctrine of resurrection

[1] Ezek. 32^{17-32}.
[2] Job 14^{13}.
[3] Ps. 139^{8}.
[4] Eccles. 3^{19} 9^{4-5}.
[5] Ecclus. 7^{17}, according to the probably correct reading.
[6] Wisd. 1^{13-15} 2^{22} f.

became a Jewish dogma, and Martha announces her belief in it [1] as in an unquestioned certainty. The explanation of this development is to be found in the apocalyptic literature, in which the doctrine of individual immortality had been enunciated with growing definiteness. To the pre-exilic prophets [2] the only resurrection, of which they thought, was that of the nation. But now, with the delay of national resurrection, that of the individual takes its place in the writings of the apocalyptists. Thus, in the post-exilic Isaiah 26^{19}, the resurrection of the good, but not of the wicked (ibid., verse 14), is announced. In Daniel 12^{2} 'many', both good and bad, are to rise again, the thought being especially of the great servants and opponents of the nation; and, in the book of Enoch, though the details of the eschatology vary, and much of it is quite vague, yet the expectation is uniformly of a judgement after death, when the wicked shall rise again to annihilation, and the good to enjoy immortality. No uniformity as to the scope or time of this consummation can be discerned in the various sections of this book, but the resurrection is always regarded as bodily. This view, therefore, thus set forth in popular literature, became a popular dogma. From Judaism it passed into Christianity, where it was seen as guaranteed by the Resurrection of Christ; while in our Lord's own teaching, the doctrine, on the only occasion [3] when He argued for, and did not merely assume, it, is based not on the thought of reward for national service or for individual merit, still less on philosophic speculation of any sort, but on the conviction of the indestructibility of human communion with God; and this is the idea which, in germ at least, underlies the highest thought of the Old Testament.

The prophetic movement, viewed broadly, is the centre of gravity of the Old Testament; it embodies the higher religious elements which were at work in Israel. These elements did not,

[1] John 11^{24}. [2] Hos. 6^{1}, Ezek. 37, Isa. 53. [3] Luke $20^{37.38}$.

as we have seen, win their victory till after the Exile. The victory which they then won was indeed complete, and yet it was not satisfactory. Jewish theology, it is true, became thoroughly monotheistic; idolatry died in Israel, and the worship rose in quality, in correspondence with the more spiritual belief. Yet the price paid for this victory was a heavy one. The religion became once more national, and the worship became once more inclined to externalism; though there always remained some in whom the law and the prophets blended to inspire a devotion which was inward as well as outward. The sacrificial system was organized and regularized; but the synagogue was, in practice, a far stronger influence in the common life; and the synagogue offered a worship without sacrifices. The Messianic hope became the common property of the people; but, though in some it took a spiritual character, of which the Magnificat is a wonderful expression, in the majority it was held as a crass inspiration for popular nationalism. In the sequel, Judaism parts into two streams at the outset of the Christian era. The one stream is that of Judaism proper, which has remained to give the Jews the inspiration for their national self-consciousness, and has proved its worth as a great national religion, but at the cost of renouncing all aspiration to become a universal or world-religion. Throughout the centuries it has exhibited an almost uniform sterility. No great movement of progressive thought or religious development has proceeded from it. The history of later Judaism shows scarcely one great name amongst the thinkers of the world.

The central movement of vital religion in Judaism was carried on into Christianity, which inherits and enriches all the best elements contained in the prophetic teaching, and becomes the inspiration of the higher thought of the western world. In the Christian doctrine of the Trinity we find a conception of God which preserves the fundamental truth of Monotheism, while saving monotheistic belief from that cold Deism which places God

far off from men in an existence of bare isolation. Jeremiah's [1] conception of individual inner religion, of the 'law in the heart', finds its fulfilment in the Christian doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The Jewish attempt to unite sacrificial observance with mystic communion at last achieves success in the Christian Eucharist. The prophetic universalism finds a term of accommodation with the human craving for a visible organization, in the gospel conception of 'the Kingdom of God'. The thought of the lovingness of Yahweh expands into our Lord's revelation of 'our Father in heaven', of a God who, though infinitely high, is yet indefinitely near, of a God who is no longer merely loving, but who is, in Himself and essentially, Love, the love which shows its perfect quality in the Cross of Jesus Christ, where the divine Love reveals itself as a love eternally ready to suffer with man and for his salvation.

[The literature illustrating this section is immense. The extra-canonical apocalypses are published in the two volumes of *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, edited by Charles. But they are unattractive and unprofitable reading for any general reader, who had better be content with the summary of them presented in Charles's *Between the Old and New Testaments* (Home University Library). The book of Joel and Daniel x, xii, will give some idea of the character of less exuberant apocalyptic. Of the Wisdom literature, almost any chapters in Proverbs or Ecclesiasticus will sufficiently reveal its general nature; but Wisdom, i–ix, should not be missed. The book of Tobit will be found a fascinating little story. Cf. also Burney, *Israel's Hope of Immortality*, Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, and Fairweather, *The Background of the New Testament.*]

[1] Jer. 31[33].

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